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ON THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN.

AMONG other arguments in favour of inequality in the intellectual faculties of the sexes, it may be remarked, that there are certain powers, which, to be more perfect, require that station in society occupied by women. Any deficiency in other qualities has been often compensated by the power of their personal charms.

In religion and politics, female influence has been infinitely greater than appears in historical records; and it is one great objection to the truth of history, that the female character rarely makes any figure in scenes which, by some other means, we often discover to have been planned and conducted by females. We are apt to be surprised to find, when we reflect on some of the greatest revolutions, that they took their origin from women; that a form of government or religion have been established by a female; and that, while an invasion takes place, a monarch is assassinated, or an inquisition erected, the

motive-power of this vast machine is a little unperceived spring, touched and played upon by the dexterity of a woman.

That women may excel men in what is termed a knowledge of the world, and that there is a sexual distinction in this not contemptible science, any observer may discover in his private circle. Bruyere is a character more extraordinary among men than it would be among women; for I am persuaded that there are many female Bruyeres not accustomed to write down their observations, and pourtray the characters of their acquaintance. Women of no remarkable talents excel in the knowledge of their own circle; and we may account for this by reflecting on their stationary situation in society, where their opportunities for observation are more frequent and steady, and where their perception becomes more exact, by an attention, which, though frequently interrupted by its vivacity, is never entirely suspended. They

may not view distantly, or penetrate deeply. Their eye, perhaps, is a pleasing microscope, which detects the minutest stroke, if placed near, though incapable of tracing an object remotely. Many experience, and some acknowledge, what Rousseau relates of his Theresa. This woman, who he describes otherwise as heavy and dull, afforded him excellent advice in the most trying occasions. Often, says he, in Switzerland, in England, and in France, amidst my disasters, she saw what I did not see myself; she afforded me the best counsels to follow, and extricated me from dangers in which I blindly precipitated myself.

If, therefore, woman displays superior acuteness derived from the peculiarity of her situation, those authoresses who appear jealous of certain privileges claimed by the wandering and active sex cannot be deemed judicious advocates of their own; because if woman, from the natural feebleness of whose organs is derived her beauty and her power, were capable of exerting the same corporeal vigour as man, yet, by becoming his rival, she would only lose that feminine sweetness, that amiable debility, and that retiring modesty, which form her empire; she would lose her actual position in the social order which imparts her present superiority, by enabling her to detect and to manage the secret foibles of man.

To her stationary situation I attribute her acknowledged superiority in conversation, and in epistolary composition. To both, woman imparts a peculiar delicacy, and a charming ease, which *masters* of style can neither imitate nor rival. These excellences consist in a volubility of happy expression and a choice of sprightly ideas; in the bosom of society female genius is first nurtured; the human scene becomes her school; and hence she derives this facility of language, and this liveliness and selection of ideas.

A more obvious advantage in the female character is that suscepti-

bility of feeling, or facility of imagination, which, without doubt, is peculiar to the irritable delicacy of their fibres. The heart is the great province of woman; if we would attract their regard we must learn to reach the heart; all their finer qualities are so many sensations of the heart; and it is the heart which imbues with its softness their every excellence.

Their favourite amusements are works of imagination and taste, not of memory and reason; their logic consists not of arguments, but of sentiments. Some ladies of true refinement can put as much fancy, and exert as rich an imagination, in the ornaments of a favourite dress, as the poet employs in his most florid descriptions.

In every surrounding object they express their love of the beautiful; their most useful instruments have a character of delicacy; women would effeminate even the roughness of steel and the solidity of wood; man is subjugated by these adventitious elegancies, and the fair love to see that beauty admired in inanimate objects which they know must be much more in themselves.

I am not surprised that in all nations, civilized or rude, whenever superstition prevailed, the female character has been regarded as an instrument of the Divinity. That peculiar animation which vivifies their perceptions has been considered as something supernatural, and we can easily conceive that the afflatus of prophecy must ever have displayed more powerful illusion in the expressive and picturesque countenance of a woman than in the more hard and labouring visage of a prophet. The Grecian Pythia, the Roman Sybil, and the Pythonissa of the Hebrews, must have communicated a more celestial inspiration with their copious tresses luxuriating on their palpitating bosom, their vivacious eyes, and their snowy arms, than even a passionate Isaiah, or a weeping Jeremiah.

But to history, and not to decla-

mation, I appeal. If we throw a philosophic glance on its instructive records, and have the discernment to read what often is not in history, we shall observe that the female character has ever had a singular influence on most of the great characters and great events of human life. One of the most favourite portions of the historic art, with historians, is an elaborate delineation of the characters of monarchs. We should comprehend these much better if we were acquainted with those of the queens. Many important resolutions of state councils have been first made behind the curtain. A queen has influence on the king her husband, and the king her son. And would it be difficult to show, that if the whole affairs of government depend on a minister, he would be impregnable against the attacks of a mistress? A person must be very ignorant of secret history, whose memory cannot place in ridiculous and humiliating attitudes, some of the most illustrious statesmen.

Cardinal Richelieu, to gain the affections of the duchess de Chevreuse at their private interviews, visited her in the most finical dress. Rejecting his scarlet robes and sacred pantoufles, his eminence wore a fashionable coat, an enormous plume, a long rapier, and tight pumps. The dutchess hated and ridiculed the cardinal, the minister, and the coxcomb; but at that moment through him she conducted innumerable intrigues within and without the kingdom.

Read Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, and you observe that his wife Terentia was not less concerned than the orator and statesman in the most striking events of his public life. When Cicero was perplexed to know in what manner he should treat Catiline and his crew, Terentia incensed him against them, and invented an ingenious prodigy to fix the waverings of his mind, and cause him to act with an energy he otherwise had wanted. The origin of the enmity between Cicero and Clodius was owing to the jealousy of Teren-

tia, who knew that his sister Clodia was desirous of marrying Cicero. She therefore instigated him to attack Clodius. By the confession of Cicero himself it appears, that Terentia was ever more ready to interfere in his public transactions than to communicate her domestic affairs to him.

Catherine of Medicis was the wife of one king and the mother of three, whom she alike conducted at pleasure.

It was owing to the intercessions of women, says Bolingbroke, that Louis XIV acknowledged the pretender as king of England, after the contrary resolution had passed in council.

A great vizier, the pillar of the Ottoman empire, solicited suddenly for his dismissal, and thus spoke to his friend, who was surprised at his resignation of such power: By the God who created heaven and earth, the secret I now tell thee no one knows: for many years, Jemila Kandahari, the first lady of the bed-chamber to the sultana, has had the secret power of unloosing whatever I tied, and tying whatever I unloosed.

Saint Evremond and Chesterfield, who excelled in the practical knowledge of life, talk much about female influence at court. At what time have not women governed? I confess woman has as seldom been heard on the public scene as the prompter of a theatre; or as rarely been visible as the scene-shifters: like some other objects, she derives all her influence from concealment. In politics, woman is terrible, not in the rash imbecillity of the storm, but in the sudden explosion of the mine.

Ancient and contemporary history will ever abound with multifarious instances of this kind; the saying of Themistocles is noted: That child, said he, pointing to his son, governs all Greece: for he governs his mother; his mother governs me; I govern the Athenians; and the Athenians govern Greece.

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men because men *love* women ; but I take leave to add, that women rule men frequently because men *fear* women. The excess of their sensibility is observable in all their great passions ; and the ancients instruct us truly when they picture their furies, as well as their graces, in the forms of women. From the same enthusiasm is derived their excellent as well as their execrable qualities ; their sensations admit of no cold mediocrity ; they are at once more or less than human ; they listen to the voice of adulation till they sink into idiotism, or they are animated by a fervour of glory till they are elevated into heroines.

When the love of glory warms the soul of a woman, she is, perhaps, actuated by a stronger impulse than that which directs *our* less delicate feelings. A being agitated by a tumultuous and inflamed imagination, experiencing sensations, perhaps, unknown to us, half conscious of her weakness, yet impelled by a daring pride ; to what height is such a being not capable of soaring ? Even her deficiencies become so many tender graces, and her very failings extort our applause. Women, like some men of the greatest genius, have been remarkable for their vanity, if we thus must term their love of glory. To what, but this passion for glory, can we attribute their partiality for men of genius ? Their remarkable attachment to soldiers has brought severe accusations against the sex ; some think it proceeds from their timid dispositions, which make them regard with fondness the protecting arm of a brave man ; but a lady has censured it, because she supposes that as these triflers are remarkable for their frivolous accomplishments, and a deficiency in mental ability, they are therefore more on a level with women than any other class of men. The observation will oftener be true than false ; yet we may sometimes attribute the female's passion for military men to her violent love of glory.

Women have also been frequently accused of a foolish loquacity about their own concerns ; but an important interest engages their silence. No great enterprise will suffer because a sensible woman unites her aid, and stimulates by her vivacity the torpid prudence of men. We want not examples to prove that some of the greatest conspiracies have been confided to women, fostered by their care, and accomplished by their zeal. The conspiracy of Catiline was discovered by a female to Cicero, and Rome was saved. That against the wretched Caligula was well known to Quintilia, who, however, bore extreme torture rather than discover the secret cabal. Several great conspiracies have indeed failed because they were not confided to females ; and there are many evidences to prove, that whenever they were employed, they conferred success on the enterprise. I am persuaded that a female may not only have the faculty of preserving a secret, but also the dexterity of inventing what is worthy of being kept secret at the cost of life.

Such has been the influence of the female character in politics ; nor has it been less apparent in religion.

Women have been more closely connected with religion than perhaps they are aware of. A new religion is congenial to their disposition, and not merely for its novelty. There is a luxuriance of fancy and a progress to ideal perfection which every new religion displays ; it is honourable to their finer sensibilities that they are ever the first to incline to what appears theoretically beautiful.

That the earliest founders of new sects have had recourse to these invisible, yet powerful wheels, in the machine of human nature, I mean women, is not to be controverted. Let the fair sex be converted, and the religion is established ; a woman at least can win her husband, a mistress the prime minister, a queen the sovereign.

It is certain, that from the influ-

ence of the female character we derive nearly all the principal events of religious history. The first dominions of the pope, and consequently the origin of the papal power, are the gifts of a woman. Gregory VII had so lively an interest in the heart of the countess Mathilda, that she made a donation of all her states to the holy see. Instigated by the eloquence of St. Jerome, the illustrious Paula forsook Rome, retired to the sacred village of Bethlehem, and founded several monasteries. Pope Damasus, who had found the chief part of the inhabitants of Rome adverse to his interests, prevailed by intriguing with the women; and was so skilful in the arts of female flattery that he obtained the nick-name of *Matronarum Auriscalpius*, the ear-picker of the ladies. To Torquemada, who had taken possession of the mind of Isabella of Spain, the best Spanish estate he could have seized on, the world is indebted for the cruel inquisition. And, in a word, christianity in England is historically derived from a French princess, who, having married Ethelbert, first stipulated for the free exercise of her religion, and soon had such influence on her husband as to christianise his idolatrous Saxons.

And gospel light first beam'd from Bul-
len's eyes.

It is thus that the female character has ever had an invisible influence on two of the most important branches of human events, politics and religion. A superiority of talents, in one respect, has produced this effect. This talent consists in a great knowledge of man, a susceptibility of impression, and a peculiarity of situation. In the domestic circle, the female is incessantly occupied in disentangling or combining the passions she observes or she inflames. Her sedentary life and her quietness of mind are little interrupted by that variety of pursuits to which the busier sex are devoted. Her social circle is her empire; her

commands are her caresses, and her threats are her tears. Incapable, perhaps, of patient designs, her plans are rapidly conceived, and often fail, if they require a tedious process of elaborate events. They are not deeply laid, but are adapted for temporary effect. Women attend to those minute particulars, often unperceived, and generally carelessly considered as unworthy of an elevated mind, but which often, adroitly managed, give a new and sudden turn to important affairs; and she appears to know much better than man that little passions can produce great effects. For surrounding objects her perceptions are vivid; but she cannot, with a prescient eye, distinctly trace objects at a remote period. Her intellectual arithmetic can calculate as far as days and months, but extends not to years. She excels man in obtaining a present purpose; her invention is prompt, her boldness happy, and her execution facile; manly perseverance proceeds with a cautious, firm, and gradual step. Let us consider a woman's advantages.

She can excite by legitimate eulogiums, and can correct by severe panegyrics; she makes man exult or blush; she can allure by a smile, she can enchant by a touch, she can subdue by her endearments! She overturns, or produces in an hour, the labour of years. She has ever something reserved for the last effort; something which has often degraded wisdom into folly, and elevated folly into wisdom, and which, while it can render activity torpid, imparts action to indolence.

The literary character of women, might exceed that of every man who does not make study his profession. Their employments are not unfriendly to *reading*: occupied at their delicate works, their avocations are ever more agreeably pursued while the circle listens to a reader; frequent readings of this nature would render their taste more lively, and their meditations less interrupted than among those persons whose studies are casual,

and whose employments are inimical to thoughtful habits.

For the Literary Magazine.

REFLECTIONS ON TASTE.

THOSE pleasures, which the exercise of a cultivated taste supplies to us, greatly exceed in intensity unpleasant sensations which correspond to them. In the bodily organs, pain, far less exquisite than what man is sometimes doomed to endure, would be ill purchased by the most refined voluptuousness; the rewards of ambition and industry are sought through toil and trouble, and commonly fail us when possessed; even in the walks of science, weariness and disappointment sometimes wait upon that labour, for which the high price of our health and time shall have been given. But while the delight which a susceptible mind enjoys in reading an excellent poem is very keen, the uneasiness of reading a bad one, besides being easily avoided, is very trifling; the lover of painting is charmed with a master-piece, and turns away with no real pain from an indifferent picture; the beautiful and magnificent objects of nature fill us with emotions of joy, but we find no distress in travelling among straight hedges and corn fields. Surely this is no small argument in favour of pursuing those pleasures, and of that education by which we are best prepared for their enjoyment: especially if we are careful to chastise those feelings to which they give birth, and guard against the ill effects of unlimited indulgence, by the more hardy discipline of serious and scientific pursuits.

Whether taste, in this sense, is a distinct faculty, or only a mode of judgment, has been a subject of much controversy. Pleasurable emotions are excited by certain objects or conceptions; and when we embody our feelings in words, we use terms of comparison, and refer to a standard,

as in other propositions. Feeling and judgment therefore go together; but to which should the word *taste* be appropriated? The primary sense of the word, and of its equivalents in modern languages, seems to imply the former; as the word *criticism* manifestly refers to the latter meaning.

Taste may certainly be applied to the works of nature; but the fine arts are its peculiar province. These arts are poetry, eloquence, including all sorts of prose composition; music, painting, sculpture, architecture, gardening, including the art of improving grounds; the stage. These arts are distinguished from those which are merely mechanical, as well as from the speculative sciences, by their *end*, which is neither utility, in the common sense of the word, nor instruction, but to minister to the pleasures of the imagination, by means of words, or of sensible images, or of both combined. Their principles, though in one sense founded on nature, since their only object is to delight the imagination, are yet not derived from ordinary nature; but require a good deal of attention, and the formation of certain habits, before they can be relished or understood. This is true even in those which are strictly arts of imitation; in which, strange as it may seem, the utmost exactness of resemblance is not deemed the highest excellence, by those whose taste has been refined and sublimated by practice. It is more eminently true in poetry and eloquence; the higher styles of which lie so much out of the *track* of ordinary minds, as to be to such minds wholly unintelligible.

These arts, though nearly allied, are not built on the same principles. He, who is thoroughly acquainted, for example, with the theory of painting, will not be necessarily a good judge of poetry or architecture: since all of them have a great number of rules originally arbitrary, the accurate knowledge of which has become indispensable to the man of taste; and which, in many cases,

suggest pleasures to the imagination, not inferior to those which appear more directly natural. A man, however, who has applied that niceness of discrimination, delicacy of feeling, and habitual reference to an acknowledged standard, in which the exercise of taste consists, to any one of these arts, can hardly fail, by sufficient attention and experience, to become a judge of all the rest. This remark, though generally true, admits of some exceptions; as in music, for example, no one can be a judge who has not an ear organized after a peculiar manner.

The first enquiry on those occasions is, whether taste has any principles at all. Whether, when *Tom* thinks the poetry of Milton better than that of Blackmore, the banqueting House (London) a finer piece of architecture than the Horse-Guards, and the Transfiguration a more excellent picture than the sign of the Red Lion, and *Will* thinks directly contrary, there is any ground for saying, that one has more taste than the other. If this be determined in the negative; if we can go no farther than to say, that *Tom* thinks one thing, and *Will* another; it is quite a waste of time to discuss the matter; like an indeterminate problem in algebra it would give us only a heap of solutions, from which nothing could be learned.

The word *taste* is highly equivocal. It is used in at least three distinct acceptations. It sometimes means, that peculiar mode of sensation which resides in the tongue and palate; sometimes, the power of discrimination in the fine arts, or the feeling associated with it; sometimes, in a sense derived from the latter, it means liking or opinion in general.

For the Literary Magazine.

TASTE IN DRESS.

THERE is scarcely any subject, upon which men differ more, than

concerning the objects of their pleasures and amusements; and this difference subsists, not only among individuals, but among ages and nations; almost every generation accusing that which immediately preceded it, of bad taste in building, furniture, and *dress*; and almost every nation having its own peculiar modes and ideas of excellence in these matters, to which it pertinaciously adheres, till one particular people has acquired such ascendancy in power and reputation, as to set what is called the *fashion*; when this *fashion* is universally and indiscriminately adopted on the blind principle of imitation, and without any consideration of differences in climates, constitution, or habits of life; and every one, who presumes to deviate from it, an *odd mortal*, a *humourist* void of all just feeling, taste, or elegance. This fashion continues in the full exercise of its tyranny for a few years or months; when another, perhaps still more whimsical and unmeaning, starts into being, and deposes it; all are then instantly astonished that they could ever have been pleased, even for a moment, with any thing so tasteless, barbarous, and absurd.

The revolutions in dress only, which have taken place within the last two centuries, afford ample illustrations of this remark; and it is not the least extraordinary circumstance in these revolutions, that they have been the most violent, sudden, and extravagant in the personal decorations of that part of the species, which, having most natural, has least need of artificial charms; which is always most decorated when least adorned; and which, as it addresses its attractions to the primordial sentiments and innate affections of man, would, it might reasonably be supposed, never have attempted to increase them by distortion and disguise. Yet art has been wearied, and nature ransacked; tortures have been endured, and health sacrificed; and all to enable this lovely part of the creation to appear in shapes as remote

as possible from that in which its native loveliness consists. Only a few years ago, a beauty, equipped for conquest, was a heterogeneous combination of incoherent forms, which nature could never have united in one animal, nor art blended in one composition: it consisted of a head, disguised so as to resemble that of no living creature, placed upon an inverted cone, the point of which rested upon the centre of the curve of a semi-elliptic base, more than three times the diameter of its own. Such has been the caprice of taste, that high-dressed heads, tight-laced stays, and wide hoops, have been thought really ornamental.



For the Literary Magazine.

SKETCH OF LITERATURE AND
THE FINE ARTS IN SICILY,
FROM 1790 TO 1803.

IN reflecting on what Sicily once was, we survey it with the melancholy and regret which so painfully affect us when contemplating the ruins of the ancient Palmyra. But let us forget the former splendour of this island, that we may consider it only in its present state.

The dawn of a glorious day appeared in Sicily, when Francesco de Aquino, prince of Caramanico, assumed the reins of government as viceroy. The Sicilian is not accustomed to consider the means adopted by the agents of the sovereign in the exercise of their functions; it is sufficient for him if they have the will to do good. Caramanico not only possessed this happy will, but likewise all the means of executing it with success.

A young advocate, named Cazel-
li, accompanied the prince in 1786 to Palermo, where he filled the station of secretary of state. Notwithstanding all the reproaches cast upon him for his conduct in that post, to him were, in a great measure, owing the revival of the arts and

sciences in Sicily, and their progress during the administration of his patron. Prince Caramanico, after the example of his predecessor the marquis Caraciolo, made a point of conferring distinction on men of learning, and of paying public homage to science, by honouring with his favour those who cultivated it with the greatest success. His zeal was not confined to empty professions; several chairs were vacant at the university of Palermo; these he not only seized the first opportunity of filling, but he founded several new ones; among others, that of rural economy, so ably occupied by Paolo Palsamo, whom he sent on a tour through France and England. The university is likewise indebted to him for a botanical garden, which cost 50,000 ducats, and which he established on a spot where once the inquisition prepared its faggots. On his invitation, professor Eliseo repaired to Naples to begin a course of experimental philosophy. Lastly, after having in vain endeavoured to induce Lagrange, and afterwards Toaldo, to settle in Sicily, he was so fortunate as to make the most excellent choice in the person of Piazzzi, the astronomer, who himself formed the plan of that splendid observatory of which he has given such a satisfactory description in his work entitled, *Giuseppi Piazzzi della Specula astronomica dei regii studii di Palermo*. Palermo, 1792, 1794. I shall say nothing of the anatomical theatre, nor of many other interesting establishments scarcely sketched out by this zealous protector of every thing great and useful, and which, in a short time, would certainly have attained to a high degree of perfection, had not death snatched him away in the midst of his laudable exertions.

The diffusion of knowledge among the lower classes of the people was likewise an object of his attention. Seconded by the worthy Giovanni Agostino de Cosmi in the establishment of national schools, he enjoyed, before he died, the pleasure of knowing that his labours had not been in

vain. The loss of prince Caramanico must ever be an object of regret to Sicily. With him expired the spirit by which he was animated; and, after his death, the magnificent fabric, scarcely begun, crumbled into ruins. The horrors which at this period convulsed all Europe hastened still more the fatal catastrophe.

Why is the class of men of science so small in Sicily, and why is the interest which the nation in general feels for them so weak?

This question may be asked at Naples as well as at Palermo: the evil in both places proceeds from the same source, from the defectiveness of the penal code, and the wretched organization of the judicial establishment, which, opening a vast field for chicane, beget a multitude of lawyers, who, abusing the noblest functions of the state, are intent only on acquiring fortunes, and gradually undermine the public strength. The Sicilian is born with a spirit of chicane; in his eyes a lawyer is a man of the highest importance: accordingly, in Palermo alone, their number, including the train of solicitors, notaries, clerks, scribes, &c. amounts to no less than four thousand. As their profession is almost the only road to honour and fortune, there prevails a universal eagerness to enter into it, and the multitude is greater, because, as the government does not give the preference to the nobility in the distribution of employments, every lawyer indulges the hope of one day obtaining the most important stations. A lawyer, indeed, is, from his profession, a man of letters in every country but Sicily. There, from an *esprit de corps*, he imbibes a certain contempt of literature; and if he chance to be an admirer of the muses, his intercourse with them is a profound secret: were it known, it would hurt his character as a man of business; the public opinion would be against him.

Whatever may be the causes, either general or particular, which

oppose the progress of knowledge in Sicily, we must admit that from 1790 to 1803 that island has afforded a very abundant literary harvest. Among these products there are undoubtedly some which good taste must reject; but a flower discovered on a parched soil, or amid the rigours of winter, though pale and weakly, still gives us one pleasurable sensation, that of surprise; and we are naturally inclined to speak of it with some degree of interest.

In a country where the censorship is extremely severe, there cannot be expected to appear many works on theology. Except a translation of Lyttleton's *Evidences of the Truth of Christianity*, a *Life of Jesus Christ* compiled from the four Evangelists, and one or two other works of the same kind, all the rest are mere polemical works, more than a century behind hand. For example, *Discorso contra gli Ebrei e gl'increduli sulla verita della resurrezione di Gesu Cristo—L'Empieta della dottrina Ariana, conculcata e convinta nel glorioso martirio di S. Ermenegildo Re d'Andalusia*. This last is a tragedy in five acts. But a still more remarkable work, written by a monk, named Gaetano Verga, is entitled, *La gran dignita del santissimo Rosario*. This monstrous production, notwithstanding the pious blasphemies with which it swarms, had escaped the severity of the censorship: it was the public papers that first pronounced an anathema against the author. We shall endeavour to convey some idea of its subject.

The devil appears before the tribunal of the Saviour, and complains bitterly that the blessed virgin, by the institution of the rosary, daily deprives him of many worthy souls, who would otherwise fall into his clutches. Jesus Christ immediately dispatches the angel Gabriel to summon his mother to appear, because, as he says, he is determined to comply strictly with all legal formalities. The parties speak in their

own behalf, but the monk, through the strangest blunder, makes his devil plead with such warmth and ability, that the Judge may justly be suspected of partiality in giving a verdict in favour of his mother. The author knows no merit superior to that of the rosary ; its virtue is universal. The angel Gabriel concludes with putting all the good actions of men into one scale, and a rosary into the other : it outweighs them all.

We might at least expect Sicily to abound in good works on jurisprudence. This, however, is not the case. They are, for the most part, mere compilations : in that philosophical spirit which forms their utility they are absolutely deficient. Nothing on this subject deserves to be mentioned, unless it be the Introduction to the Jurisprudence of Sicily, by Dr. Rosarios Gregorio, a lawyer equally distinguished for extensive information and sound philosophy.

The establishment of the first anatomical theatre in Sicily, by Caramanico, proves how little progress has been made in that country in the medical art : it has, however, begun to be more carefully cultivated. Chemistry, in particular, has become a favourite study, and the works of Fourcroy are held in high estimation. Some of the most distinguished literati have devoted their attention to the natural history of the country ; and the family of Gioeni, at Catanea, possesses a cabinet interesting both for its extent, and for the regularity and taste in its arrangement. Others, more or less important, exist in every town of Sicily ; but it is necessary to seek the company of the proprietors, because they are not accustomed, like those of other countries, to publish their observations. Every one is acquainted with the catastrophe that befel the manuscript of the canon Recupero, the invaluable result of observations made for a long series of years on Etna ; but this loss is in part repaired by the labours of

Francesco Ferrara, professor at the university of Catanea, who has given us, in his *Storia generale dell' Etna*, an ample description of that mountain, the history of its explosions, and a catalogue of its productions. This work, from the importance and number of its geological observations, may be considered as the most valuable extant on the natural history of volcanoes. The work of Dr. Vincenzo Rijolo, on the mineral waters of Sicily, likewise merits approbation.

The mathematics present a more abundant harvest ; without noticing several elementary works of merit, the writings of the celebrated Piazzzi alone will form an æra in the literary history of Sicily. All Europe is acquainted with them ; but the detached pieces which he has successively inserted in the Philosophical Transactions, and other periodical publications printed at Milan and Modena, are not so well known. They consist of *Corrispondenza Italiana* ; *Lettere sull' astronomia* ; and his last work is entitled *Stellarum inerrantium positiones*. Another performance by him, *Su i movimenti delle Fisse*, will speedily appear. Natural philosophy has likewise been cultivated with success since the time of Caramanico. This is proved by *P. Eliseo Physicæ experimentalis Elementa* ; *J. Z. Cantarella Physicæ experimentalis Cursus*, and *Introduzione alla Fisica*, by the celebrated abbate Seina, which has just made its appearance.

The Sicilians are very far from having made any progress in matters of mere erudition. They have recently published, it is true, a new edition of ancient classic authors for the use of the university of Palermo ; but it is only a reprint, and frequently a faulty one, of the text. We meet with various translations which are not above mediocrity. The *Anacreon* of Valguarnera is no more a translation from the original than the *Theocritus* of the count Gaetani. It is to be regretted that

the marquis de Natali, who, in his translation of Homer, has so skillfully introduced all those beauties which embellish that of Cesarotti, and avoided his defects, should have stopped short at the fourth book of the Iliad.

The imposture of Vella has not been wholly useless to Sicily; for it has excited a taste for the study of the Arabic. Morso, professor of the oriental languages at Palermo, has published an edition of Lokmann's Fables, to which he has annexed an Arabic Grammar and Dictionary. The abbate Pasqualino has established a claim to the gratitude of the republic of letters by his *Vocabulario Siciliano etimologico Italiano e Latino*. The dictionaries of Escobar and of Bordo have rendered this work necessary; and if it does not possess all the exactness that could be wished, yet if we reflect on the multiplicity of different dialects, and that each town of Sicily has one which is peculiar to itself, we shall be obliged to admit that Pasqualino has gloriously acquitted himself of the laborious task which he undertook. His vocabulary is not only valuable for Sicily, but philology in general must assign to it considerable importance: for, considering the relations and approximations of these different dialects to the ancient languages, it were to be wished that some scholar, who would not, like Pasqualino, suffer himself to be too often led away into idle researches on the etymology of words, would take the trouble to prune and to improve it.

Sicily has not yet produced any works of importance on coins, except the performance of prince Torremuzza. He was the first that inspired his countrymen with a taste for researches of this kind. Every town, indeed, has its medalist, who, notwithstanding the great exportation, never fails to acquire a fortune; but with the Sicilian this science is, as yet, nothing more than the passion of hoarding. Among the private collections, that of the

baron d'Astuto at Noto, and that of the family of Biscari at Catanea are most worthy of notice. The public is still expecting the work promised by Calcagni, of Naples, on the numismatography of his native country. The writings of the chevalier Saverio Landolina principally relate to the researches undertaken by him in the vicinity of Syracuse, and will appear without delay. Of all the Sicilian literati, Landolina is perhaps the only one who has properly seized the spirit of antiquity: this he has proved by his commentaries on Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, and several other ancient authors.

The toil and care with which the Italians collect the history of their country forms a national characteristic: and though we rarely find among their recent historians traces of that philosophic spirit which guided Machiavel and Guicciardini, yet we are obliged to allow them, in this respect, a distinguished rank among the nations of Europe. Their researches are too replete with minute details, and while they furnish rich materials for the future historian of Italy, they will render his task extremely laborious, by this very superabundance.

Some idea of these stores may be formed from the catalogue published by the marquis de Villabianca: *Catalogo di tutti i parti litterati editi ed inediti intorno alla Storia Sicula Palermitana, 1794*. The celebrated historiographer Paolo di Blasi is reproached, perhaps with justice, for having written rather a history of the viceroys of Sicily than of the nation, in his *Storia cronologica de vice-rè, luogotenenti e presidenti del regno di Sicilia*; but it is not less true that he has successively treated the most difficult period of the annals of his country. Rosario Gregorio enjoys a well-earned reputation. His *Bibliotheca scriptorum, qui res in Sicilia gestas sub Aragonum imperio rotulere*, causes his *History of the Government of Sicily*, which will speedily appear,

to be expected with impatience. Another valuable work, by the same author, *Rerum Arabicarum quæ ad historiam Siculam spectant amplia Collectio, Arabice et Latine*, 1790, raised up against him in Vella an opponent, who, however, obtained but a very transient success. Every one likewise mentions with commendation, *Paolo d'Avolio Saggio sovra lo stato presente della poesia in Sicilia, per servire alla Storia della letteratura nazionale del Secolo XVIII*, though in many places he is not perfectly free from the reproach of partiality.

Statistics, at present so fashionable in the rest of Europe, is almost entirely neglected in this island. Emmanuel Sergio is engaged in a work on the commerce of Sicily, but his plan is too extensive, so that there is reason to apprehend he will never be able to accomplish it.

Though the Sicilians have not addicted themselves so much to the abstruse branches of metaphysics, they are not less philosophical than their neighbours on the continent of Italy. The literature of France and England is better known in Sicily than in all southern Italy. A single glance at the booksellers' shops in the street of Cassero, at Palermo, is sufficient to convince you that foreign literature possesses great advantage over that of the country. The works of the most esteemed philosophers are there read in the original; but only one work of Bonnet's has yet been translated, *Contemplazione della Natura con nuove note ed osservazioni dell' Abb. Fr. Ferrara*, and nothing of Locke's but his logic.

It is remarkable that the journals and other periodical works which have hitherto appeared in Sicily, and many of which are justly regretted, have had but a very transient existence. Such are the *Effemeridi enciclopediche*; *Saggio della Storia Sicula*; *Giornale ecclesiastico di Sicilia*; *Notizie letterarie*; *Nuova raccolta degli autori Siciliani*, &c., &c. You every where discover with pleasure traces of an in-

timate acquaintance with foreign literature; a commendation which cannot be conferred on the rest of Italy. The best German works are translated into the dialect of the country.

Every Sicilian, who pretends to any education, is a poet; pastoral poetry is their favourite branch. But most of these sons of Parnassus fortunately possess the good sense not to be desirous of shining except in the circles which they frequent. They write in the idiom peculiar to their district, and hence it frequently happens that what is thought charming at Palermo is not understood at Syracuse. Meli is their model; this poet enjoys the highest reputation, and the new edition of his works is expected with incredible impatience. All its contents are already known by heart. This is of no consequence; he is the fashionable author; the whole nation, nay, even his rivals, have decreed him the crown.

Count Cæsar Gaetani, author of a poem entitled *Piscagioni*, might, perhaps, have aspired to a reputation equally splendid. The tunny fishery is an amusement of which all the inhabitants of the coasts of Sicily are passionately fond. This fishery is a kind of national festival, which continues several days successively; but Gaetani has employed the Tuscan dialect, which is not generally known in Sicily. Besides, his verses have not the native simplicity of Melis. Zanotti, Poli, Bondi, have likewise printed collections of poems. Procapio has translated Gessner's "Death of Abel," but none of those works produced any great sensation.

Dramatic poetry is neglected to a surprising degree. The dramatic art itself finds but a small number of partizans. The theatres are commonly empty, and those who go to them for pastime are frequently unable to tell, on leaving them, what piece has been performed.

The reason of this indifference, unparalleled among civilized nations, is, that the Sicilians have not

yet, properly speaking, either a national theatre or national plays. The pieces are Venetian, in the Venetian dialect; consequently both the language and the national character, so very different from those of Venice, oppose the progress of this art in Sicily. It may be even generally asserted that the taste for the fine arts is not yet taken root among the natives of that island. Though they possess a Pietro Novelli, an Antonio Gaggino; though their churches abound in valuable pictures of more than one kind, the Sicilian is not an artist; they have not yet produced either painter or statuary whose name is worthy of being handed down to posterity. Those among them who are gifted by nature with any particular talent are obliged to flee their country to obtain the reward due to merit, unless they chuse rather to profane their art, and to vegetate all their lives. Velasquez, the painter of Palermo, affords a striking demonstration of this melancholy truth: having resolved not to quit his island, his talents and his fortune have not risen above mediocrity. Mariano Rossi was more wise or more fortunate. He obtained at an early age considerable reputation by various performances at the Villa Borghese. He returned to his native land only for a time, for the purpose of painting the dome of the cathedral of Palermo. This is the greatest of his works. Though his figures are often defective in proportion, though his colouring, which is too yellow, fatigues the eye, still the composition and the whole denote a man of genius. Among the statuaries we may mention Marabitti, but he scarcely deserves the name.

One of the most beautiful monuments of modern architecture, the church of St. Laurence the martyr, at Trapani, has recently been finished. Don Diego de Luca, an ecclesiastic, was the architect who superintended its erection. Italy has not, perhaps, a monument of its

kind in a style more simple and more majestic.

Y.

For the Literary Magazine.

ACCOUNT OF THE ENVIRONS OF
NAPLES.

From a recent Traveller.

THE city of Naples has less claim to distinction on account of its intrinsic beauties, than for the vast and magnificent scenery by which it is surrounded. The following fragment conveys a just idea of the prospect enjoyed from the summit of Mount St. Elmo, which commands that ancient metropolis. The variety and happy contrast of the objects presented in this narrative, together with the notices which accompany it, will, it is hoped, revive agreeable recollections in those who have beheld that favoured country, and will not be uninteresting to such as are only acquainted with it from short descriptions.

We left the street of Toledo, to proceed to the square of St. Anna del Palazzo. The little street which conducts to it exhibits a monument of the taste of these people for music. It is a house which a celebrated singer erected with the produce of his economy. This artist, desirous of perpetuating the remembrance of his talent, and of publishing the cause of his good fortune, had this inscription, at the same time modest and ostentatious, engraved on a marble tablet: "*Amphion Thebas, ego domum.*" This motto, so simple, so graceful, and so cheering to artists, must undoubtedly have diffused the celebrity of the singer even among the very lowest classes of the people. But alas! how liable to error are the calculations of self-love! Not a creature in the whole street could tell the name of this modern Amphion. Thus, thought I, will our posterity perhaps find on

a marble monument the eulogy of a conqueror, the list of the towns he destroyed, and of the nations he reduced to slavery; but the name of the hero shall no longer exist; and the antiquaries of that age will torture themselves to discover whether it is Peter or James to whom their admiration is due. Palingenius observed with great justice,

*Quid populos magnasque urbes ditone
tenere*

*Marmoreosque habitare lares, vultuque
superbo*

*Omnes despicere, atque parem se credere
divis:*

*Si mors cuncta rapit, si tanquam pulvis
et umbra,*

*Deficimus miseri, si tam cito fastus et
omnis*

*Gloria nostra perit, nullum reditura per
ævum?*

I have introduced, I acknowledge, far too much philosophy on the inscription of a singer, but I could not resist the temptation. Let us pursue our route. We left Naples on its mountainous side, by streets which have a rapid declivity, and arrived at a road denominated the Petrare. If this name is intended to denote a rugged road, full of rocks, and painful to the pedestrian, never was expression more applicable. We passed on our right the way that leads to the Carthusian convent, and on our left that which conducts to the village of Attignano. We continued to ascend towards Fort St. Elmo, and at length arrived at the house of signior C*** M***, where we were to dine. This house, though not very conspicuous, is most favourably situated for serving in some measure as an observatory, and commands a view the most magnificent and extensive. It is itself of considerable elevation, and is placed on the summit of the mountain, on the declivity of which the city of Naples is situated. Its roof, like all those in this country, is flat, surrounded with a ballustrade, and the horizon is open on every side, excepting a single point, where the lofty mountain of the Camaldu-

lenses, intercepting the view, sets off the objects to the right and left of that dusky mass.

After dinner our Amphytrion took us to the terrace and said: "Cast your eyes over this immense circle, and when you have recovered from your surprise, we will endeavour to separate the numerous objects which present themselves, to consider them individually.

"To give you the measure of the surface which is displayed around you, first observe, toward the northwest, that blueish mountain, whose foot is washed by the sea, and whose summit pierces the skies: it is the mountain of Circe. It is more than thirty leagues distant from us; and the other elevation, which is nearer, is the promontory of Gaeta. That ball which seems to rise above the sea, is an enormous circular tower, called by the people the Castle of Orlando, but which is in fact the mausoleum of Minutius Plancus, as is attested by the inscription that still exists. If you turn from this point of the horizon toward the east, among the numerous summits of the Appenines, you will distinguish two more elevated than the rest, at as great a distance from us as Monte Circello: they form the partition between the eastern and western portion of this division of Italy; and were we capable of transporting ourselves to their summits, we should behold at once the Adriatic sea and the gulph of Genoa. Toward the south other elevated points exhibit the same vapour-like hue, and consequently are equally distant. And, lastly, to the west the view is bounded only by the circular line where the azure of the sea is blended with that of the heavens. The circle, of which we occupy nearly the centre, has therefore a radius of thirty leagues, and you may thence form some idea of its superficies. But, quitting objects which are too remote, let us confine ourselves to a theatre all the parts of which we may with ease distinguish.

"Behold, beneath your feet, the city of Naples, descending in the

form of an amphitheatre, and covering the brow of the mountain : one half of this metropolis is situated on the declivity of the hill ; the other extends to the sea, and bends towards the gulph, a portion of which it embraces. This gulph is ten leagues in length, and its breadth, gradually increasing towards the sea, is three, four, five, or six leagues. Notwithstanding its extent, every object in it may be distinctly perceived, which is owing to the extraordinary purity of the air we breathe. That obtuse point, which projects into the sea at the bottom of the city, is the Castle of Ovo, so denominated from its form. If, leaving this castle, your eye follows the shore that stretches away toward the west, you come to the Villa Reale, a promenade, situated between the hills and the beach, and the road running parallel to it leads to the grotto of Pausilyppo. This Greek name is probably composed of the two words *pauso* and *lupé* ; the former signifying *I put an end to, I relieve*, and the second, *pain, sorrow, fatigue*. Indeed this hill, so celebrated for its fertility, its gardens, its country-seats, was well calculated to afford recreation from the labours, cares, and bustle of the city.

“That dark road, a thousand paces in length and twelve feet broad, had formerly one equal elevation ; but having been used for more than thirty centuries, the soil, which is nothing more than hardened pozzuolana, a species of turf, is so worn away, that the road has sunk considerably, and travellers now see over their heads the marks made in ancient times by the chariot-wheels in the walls of the grotto. Strabo informs us, that, in his time, two carriages might conveniently pass there. During the reign of Nero, there was neither hole nor window for the admission of light, and the air entering only at the two extremities, this long gloomy cavern was always full of a yellow dust, dry, and almost impalpable. Seneca, who calls it the Neapolitan

Crypt, says, that in passing through it he experienced the fate of the wrestlers, and that it is a long prison, where nothing is to be seen but darkness. This expression of Seneca proves that Milton’s “darkness visible” is not of such modern invention. The two windows which now exist in it were made by order of Alphonso I, who likewise caused the road and the vault of the grotto to be repaired ; but as the light which enters it comes from the summit of the mountain, and has long passages to traverse, only a weak and dubious glimmer pervades the cavern. Once a year, however, it is illuminated in a brilliant manner, that is, at the autumnal equinox. The sun, setting at this season exactly opposite the outlet of the grotto, which is extremely straight, throws his rays to the other extremity. At this moment the spectator may discern all the sinuosities of the vault, the traces of the ancient chariots, some of which are fifteen feet above the present soil, and a multitude of names, which different travellers have inscribed on its walls ; but this solar illumination lasts no more than five minutes, and reappears only with the revolution of the year.

“Before we quit this grotto, I ought to mention the supposed tomb of Virgil. This is the small monument above the entrance of the cavern, and which, at a distance, resembles a dormer-window more than a tomb. This little vault, narrow, and of no great depth, is absolutely empty ; and it is, besides, well known that Virgil was interred near Sebet, that is, at the other extremity of Naples. The common people, however, insist that the remains of that great man are at Pausilyppo, and from time to time carry into the vault branches of laurel, which being frequently renewed, induce a belief of the immortality of that tree. The lowest class of the people have a great veneration for Virgil : you will undoubtedly imagine that it must be on account of his poetic genius. By no means : they respect

his memory because he was a great magician, who by one stroke of his wand created the cavern of Pausilyppo.

"If you now pass over the hill that separates the gulph of Naples from that of Puzzuoli, your eye will hover over the Campi Phlegræi, the environs of Solfatara, denominated by the Romans *Forum Vulcani*. The protuberance of the mountain conceals the lake of Agnano and its picturesque banks; but you perceive the cape on which is situated Puzzuoli, and a portion of that town. It was formerly called Puteolum; and at a period still more remote the Greeks gave it the appellation of Dicearchie. A temple, an amphitheatre, and a monument erected to Tiberius by fourteen towns of Asia which he rebuilt, are nearly the whole that remains of its ancient splendour. Those enormous piles, once joined together by arches, are the ruins of the mole which formed its harbour. Here it was that Caligula ordered a bridge to be constructed across the sea, and passed over it to Baiæ with all the equipage of war and all the pride of a ridiculous victory.

"From this point follow the coast, which curves off in a semicircle to Mount Misenum. In the hollow which is nearest to us was the academy of Cicero; farther off the villa of Hortensius; farther still that of Servilius Vatia; and lastly that belonging to Piso, which Nero afterwards occupied. That elevated castle on which you see a flag flying is the castle of Baiæ. There it was that the execrable Anicetus, in obedience to the orders of a monster, endeavoured to drown Agrippina. Behind the cape are to be seen the remains of Bauli, where that princess, having escaped the dangers of the sea, was dispatched by the clubs and swords of the satellites of a paricide. The modest tomb which exists at the foot of the hill, and turns obliquely towards the sea, is said to be that of this empress, who was still more unfortunate than she was criminal.

"Now let us turn back to this last picture, of which you have surveyed only the portion that borders the sea. Nature has conspired with time to change the face of this once gaily smiling country. All those little hills of a dusky-white, thrown into a group behind the town of Puzzuoli, are the relics of the volcano which we denominate Solfatara. Its cone is destroyed. All the combustible matter it contained has been consumed by internal fire; nothing is left but the circumference of its base, formed by a chain of rocks, so calcined as to resemble heaps of lime; but the fire of the abyss is still active as ever; and if there are now no eruptions, the reason is, because there is no fuel to feed the flame.

"This volcano, after remaining stifled, as it were, for ages, burst forth, fatally for Puzzuoli, which it almost entirely destroyed. The Temple of the Nymphs, the magnificent ruins of which are seen near the shore, exhibits an extraordinary spectacle. After it had been burned by an eruption of Solfatara, it was covered for four centuries by the sea, which another volcanic shock again obliged to retire. Its beautiful marble columns, some of which are still standing, pieces of entablature of exquisite workmanship, have been in many places consumed by the fire; and when they were afterwards overwhelmed by the billows, the madrepores and shell-fish adhered to them; so that the precious fragments of this admirable monument bear the two-fold impression of both the elements that conspired to destroy the fabric.

"Between the bottom of that gulph and the castle of Baiæ, but farther inland, you see a lofty mountain, denominated by the Latins *Mons Gaurus*, and which the Italians call Il Monte Barbaro. This place is celebrated for the battles fought there between the Romans and the Samnites: but between that mountain and the sea you observe another of a conical form, whose summit appears to have been lopped

off. That we call Monte Nuovo; and the name indicates that its formation is of recent date. This volcanic cone, in fact, issued on the 29th of September, 1538, from the earth, vomiting forth a deluge of fire and ashes: it ingulphed the village of Tripergola, situated on that spot: it dried up the Lucrine lake, formerly famous for its excellent oysters: it obliged the sea to retire, and caused the relics of the Julian port, celebrated by Virgil, to disappear.

"This Monte Nuovo prevents the view of the lake of Avernus, which is behind it. On the banks of this lake are the ruins of a temple, supposed to have been erected in honour of Apollo; and on the opposite side is the entrance of a grotto, very absurdly imagined to be that of the Sibyl of Cumæ. Virgil distinctly describes two grottoes: that of the Sibyl, which he places at Cumæ, and that of hell, on the banks of Avernus. We actually find at Cumæ a large cavern, which serves as an entrance to a grotto similar to that of Pausilyppo, but much longer. It is to this that the following verses must be applied:

Excisum Euboicæ latus ingens rupis in
antrum
Quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia
centum
Unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa
Sibyllæ.

"These hundred mouths and hundred subterranean caves still exist in the multitude of galleries constructed under ground, and many of which are in such preservation, that you may proceed along them to a considerable distance: but the grotto of the lake of Avernus is very different. Of the latter the same poet says,

Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis
hiatu
Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro, nemorumque
tenebris.

"There you still find the lake, for-

merly putrid and brackish, but now pure and limpid. You likewise see the wood that covers it, and the vast mouth of the cavern, at the bottom of which a spiral passage descends into the bowels of the earth.

"In the direction of Monte Nuovo cast your eyes on the plain that extends to the sea: the little eminence which appears at the extremity bears the ruins of the town of Cumæ, which was a rich and powerful place before the building of Rome. A gate of a beautiful construction is still standing: you may also see the pavement of several streets, and a great number of arches covered with bushes, which afford a retreat to the birds of night and to reptiles. Farther on is an amphitheatre almost entirely in ruins, and the sub-basement of a temple formed of enormous blocks, that remind the spectator of this expression of Virgil:

—————Posuitque immania templa.

"Let us now survey the castle of Baiæ, and follow the curvature of the coast terminated by the promontory of Misenum. Another gulph of a circular form indents the land, and extends to the marshes of the Acheron. It was there that Pliny commanded the fleets of Rome; it was there that he set out to observe the first eruption of Vesuvius, and sacrificed his life to his curiosity. We are at last approaching that mountain of greater celebrity than magnitude, Mount Misenum, where the pious Æneas performed the obsequies of the most able trumpeter in his army.

"Near that spot Lucullus, who was called Xerxes Togatus, possessed those magnificent gardens, that splendid palace, which were looked upon as a prodigy in an age when every object was gigantic and prodigious.

"Beyond the cape which terminates that gallery of ruins, two islands have the appearance of being joined to the continent: they are the

ancient Pythecusæ, now Procida and Ischia. The former, level and uniform, scarcely rises above the surface of the sea : you cannot perceive it. The second is that high mountain, whose peaked summit is lost in the clouds, and resembles a colossal pyramid destined for the boundary between the dominions of Ceres and of Neptune.

“ Here the sea checks our course, and terminates half of the circle which we have to traverse. To examine the other half, let us return to the point whence we set out, and finish from left to right the examination which we have so far made in a contrary direction.

“ That mass which conceals from us a portion of the north-west, is the mountain of the Camaldulenses, where pious recluses make vows of poverty in the midst of abundance, and vows of continence in the bosom of voluptuousness.

“ To the north the sight is lost in those extensive and smiling plains which have justly deserved the appellation of Happy. The eye, fatigued by the numerous asperities of the mountains, here reposes on the uniformity of the champaign. That road before us leads to Capua ; that on the right to Caserta ; and that still farther to the right to Benevento. All along these roads, and in the intervals between them, the vine married to the elm, and nourished by a vigorous sap, overtops the trees by which it is supported, and its amber branches are suspended in festoons beneath arches of verdure. The active fecundity of the earth is not however confined to this two-fold produce, and the grain of Ceres, which in every other region requires the immediate aspect of the sun, here grows and ripens under the shade of the vines and the elms. Nay, even when the harvest is over, the avaricious husbandman demands new benefits : he commits to this thrice fertile earth the seeds of vegetables, of pulse, and other useful plants, of which he has still time to obtain a crop before the

short and slight frosts that take place in this favoured climate.

“ Look at that hill of a circular form which commands the plain, and breaks its uniformity ; that is what we call Capo di Monte. The edifice to which it serves as a base is a royal habitation of elegant structure, which, rising above a mass of bushy trees, resembles a magic palace, held suspended by the hands of fairies over a tuft of verdure enameled with flowers.

“ Let us now turn our eyes towards the east. The first object that strikes us is Vesuvius. Like Parnassus, it exhibits to us a double peak ; that to the left is Somma, and the other to the right is the volcano. The former is covered with verdure towards the north, but to the south it borrows the sable aspect of its tremendous neighbour, towards which it turns its concave sides, consumed and worn away by frequent conflagrations. A vast mountain of a circular form serves as a common base of Somma and of Vesuvius : this base, which is twenty-four Italian miles in circuit, is covered with wood, with gardens, and elegant buildings. Around its foot runs a continued gallery of towns and villages : St. John, Portici, Resina, Torre del Greco, Torre del P'Annunziata, and many others. Below, the sea presents a new spectacle : numberless ships and barks plough its waves in every direction. At the bottom of the mountain reign luxury, opulence, industry, activity : at its top, lava, pumice-stones, ashes, scoria, are piled one upon another, and every thing exhibits the image of destruction. Lastly, above the sea, appear towns, the volcano with its flames, and the chain of the Appenines, rearing aloft its everlasting snows, crowns the picture with the indentations of its silvery summits. Sometimes when the east wind blows on this coast, the column of smoke emitted by Vesuvius, inclining over the gulph, crosses it in the form of an arch, and again descends towards the region of Solfa-

tara, as if to indicate the communication which subsists between these two forges of Vulcan.

"It is not only the richness of this picture, but likewise its composition, that is worthy of notice. To the east, a volcano possessing all its force, commanding a fertile plain, and commanded itself by mountains on which reign eternal frosts; to the west, a volcano nearly extinguished, surrounded with ruins, lakes, and cultivated hills; to the south, the liquid expanse from whose bosom rise delightful islands; to the north, a plain covered with corn, flowers, and fruits. Could the most active imagination of the most accomplished painter have combined more beauties, more contrasts, more objects, graceful, gloomy, smiling, imposing, terrific, and admirable?

"But let us follow the coast which trends away to the south-east: there formerly flourished four celebrated towns, that were ingulphed in one day by the eruption to which Pliny fell a victim. What a tremendous spectacle history presents us in one short sentence! *Pompeia, Retina, Herculaneum, et Stabia, populo sedente in theatro, defecere*. How terribly laconic is the concluding word *defecere*!

"The town which you perceive in the angle formed by the base of Vesuvius, and the coast that bears away to the south-west, is Castell' a Mare, a haven and royal mansion, encompassed with a delightful country. Behind it rises an enormous mountain: its summit is crowned by a square block, which seems to have been cut by the hand of man; or rather it appears to be a colossal altar, erected by time, and consecrated to the superior deities. The rest of that coast exhibits a smiling appearance, which forms a contrast with the sombre aspect of Vesuvius. The towns which you perceive on the declivity of the hills are Vico, Sorrento, and Massa. They are surrounded by numerous villages, and in these places, once dear to the

nymphs and the muses, Pan, Ceres, Bacchus, and Pomona lavish their blessings on the indolent natives. This portion of the continent is terminated by the cape of Minerva; and, lastly, towards the south, the island of Caprea is the last object that claims our notice.

"Situating opposite to Naples, this island seems to close up the entrance of its gulph, as a boundary placed by nature to prevent the vagrant eye from losing itself in the vast expanded sea. The summits of its rocks and its mountains, cut into the form of rays, afford, in their combination, the image of an immense crown, and appear destined to remind us that one of the masters of the world once chose this isle for the theatre of his pleasures, his debauchery, and his cruelties. You perceive that, in describing the other portion of the circle, we have again arrived at the sea, the island of Caprea being the last point on this side, as Mount Misenum is on the other.

"You must not imagine (added he) that a spectacle like this can ever become indifferent to the lovers of the arts and of nature.—Though always the same, it is ever new. Calms and tempests, the state of the sky, the different appearances of the sea, the singular operations of Vesuvius, every day exhibit a new picture, impart to it life and motion, and incessantly furnish fresh causes for admiration, fresh food for the eager curiosity of the spectator. The pleasures afforded by this scene of enchantment are not limited to the time when the sun illumines our hemisphere. Night, which elsewhere effaces images, and renders one of our senses in some measure useless, here contributes very often to augment our delight, and surpasses even day itself in the grandeur and variety of the prodigies it displays to the view. Let us suppose that an eruption is at hand, or is beginning to manifest itself, while the disk of the moon is reflected and multiplied in each of the waves that

roll at the bottom of the gulph, the volcano emits a hollow and ominous sound. To the murmurs of the Nereids succeed the bellowings of the Cyclops; the sons of Eolus escape roaring from the caverns of Vesuvius, and frequent lightnings darting from the mountain proclaim to mortals an awful crisis of nature. The column of smoke becomes thicker, and, expanding in the air, exhibits a resemblance of those lofty pines, whose bare and branchless stems are crowned by a vast canopy of verdure. The cloud continues to grow more black and more extensive; but a luminous blood-red spot appears in the midst of the chaos. The vapours become red, and impregnated with fire; the luminous portion increases, and the substances discharged by the volcano glow with every tint, and exhibit every possible shade of colour.—Here the flame resembles that of the funereal torch, there it is of the most lively vermillion; farther off it is white, and dazzles the eye with its excessive brightness; in another part it is of a murky mixture of purple and of soot; over the mouth of the furnace the vapours hover in the form of a golden cloud; and those which, from their distance, are incapable of reflecting the light, shroud the whole scene in a sable veil, which, by the clashing contrast, heightens all the colours, and imparts double brilliancy to the phenomenon.

“But other wonders appear at the mouth of the volcano. Sometimes showers of ignited stones shoot upward to an immense height, and their parabolic descent is a grand imitation of our artificial fire-works; at others, an arrow of fire flies towards heaven, which it seems to penetrate. Now a tuft of ardent vapours crowns the mountain, and emits to a considerable distance innumerable sparks; and now again lightnings, bursting from the bosom of the abyss, cut through the surrounding smoke in their zig-zag course. One moment the flame as-

sumes the figure of a column, whose height is thrice that of the volcano; and the next it is an immense tongue, which wavers for some time in the air, then suddenly returns, and seems to lick the edge of the terrific gulph.

“Meanwhile the sides of the mountain are incapable of containing the melted substances which rise and press against them. A dreadful noise announces a rupture; the mountain opens with a vast effort, and its inflamed entrails are exposed to view. Rivers of lava already roll beneath the new bridge which is just formed, the fiery torrent, the image of Phlegeton, rushes into the valley that separates Somma from Vesuvius; its devastating stream increases at the expence of every object which it meets, and acquires an extent of several miles. The strongest trees disappear before it, like feeble blades of grass before the scythe of the mower: forests, gardens, houses, palaces, are all whelmed beneath the burning deluge; and the very spot where they existed is so changed, that it can no longer be recognized. The ardent river continues advancing with a dull and dismal noise, rolling with it calcined stones and billows of glowing ashes. It has already crossed the road, and is proceeding towards the sea; and when it has passed the rocks on its shore, the fiery mass plunges into the deep. The collision of these hostile elements throws up to the very skies torrents of vapour, whose roaring, whose dazzling colours, and the horrible agitation they produce in the air, cause the terrified spectator to imagine that the world is about to be dissolved, and to be reduced to that chaos from which it sprung.

“If to the spectacle of an eruption you now add that of a storm; if accident produces at the same moment one of those tremendous tempests which are alone sufficient to desolate nature, what pencil can then trace the horrors of the scene? what pen can describe them?” z.

For the Literary Magazine.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF DR.
JAMES BEATTIE.

JAMES BEATTIE was born on the 5th of Nov. 1735, in the parish of Lawrencekirk, in Kirkcaldineshire. When only seven years old, he lost his father, who was a farmer, and remarkable for his probity and his love of the muses. Through the generous assistance of his elder brother, David, James was initiated in the English and Latin languages, by Mr. Mylne, schoolmaster at Lawrencekirk; a teacher of reputation, and successor to the celebrated Ruddiman. Poet Beattie, for so he was called even at this early period of his life, distinguished himself among his school-fellows by diligence and superior attainments, though he laboured under the disadvantage of a very weakly constitution.

In 1749, he obtained a small scholarship in Marischal College, Aberdeen, by excelling in a comparative trial; and he commenced his academical career by studying Greek, under Dr. Blackwell, from whose hands he received a very honourable prize. The second term of his public study seems to have embraced Latin, mathematics, in which he was no remarkable proficient, and history, geography, and chronology. Natural philosophy formed the principal object of the third course. In this department a want of the requisite mathematical knowledge must be very unfriendly to the student's progress. The fourth term was devoted to moral philosophy and the abstract sciences, under Dr. Alexander Gerard, well known by his *Essay on Taste*, and other performances.

In 1753, Mr. Beattie took his degree in arts, and obtained the humble situation of schoolmaster at Fordoun, a village not far from Laurencekirk. At this time, he enjoyed the friendship and patronage of Francis Garden, afterward lord Gardenstone, and added to his poetical reputation by contributions to the Scotch Ma-

gazine, and an epitaph on two brothers who were drowned when bathing. It likewise appears that he was a severe disciplinarian, that he officiated as clerk of the parish, that he was enrolled in Marischal College as a student of divinity, and that his manners were not yet subdued into gentleness or complacency.

In 1758, he was appointed one of the ushers in the grammar school in Aberdeen, a situation to which he had *aspired* some months before, though without success. Beattie's sphere of activity and acquaintance was now enlarged; and, except some harassing head-achs, his usher-ship, which lasted two years, passed with considerable satisfaction to himself. During this period, his poems were published, for the first time, by subscription.

On the 8th of Oct. 1760, Mr. Beattie, having obtained a royal patent, was made professor of moral philosophy and logic, in Marischal College. In the course of a few years, he attained distinguished celebrity as a teacher of ethics.

His habits of study were regular and constant. Little time was spent in idleness, because he was ambitious to acquit himself with credit, and to benefit his students as far as was in his power. An academical life is so barren of incidents that it cannot be expected to furnish much in the narrative. The lives of most literary men consist of little more than a history of their works. His pleasant and agreeable manners, even at this time, have been much commended. To his old associates he was kind and affable; and at his house and table they were always welcome.

In 1766, he married miss Mary Dun, daughter of Dr. James Dun, who, for near seventy years, was a teacher in the grammar school of Aberdeen. About four years subsequent to his marriage, he received from King's College, Aberdeen, the degree of doctor in laws. In July following, he visited London, and was favoured with very flattering

marks of attention from some of the most distinguished literary characters of the age.

In 1772, his mother died at the advanced age of fourscore years. Her affectionate son, Mr. David Beattie, had for thirty years shown her every mark of attention and kindness, and it was in his house at Johnstone, in the neighbourhood of Laurencekirk, that she died. Those persons who knew her best have represented her as possessed of great self-command; as a prudent, kind woman, and as exemplifying those simple and unaffected manners, which were then more frequently to be found in Scotland than they are at present.

The doctor repeated his visit to London in 1773, obtained a pension, was presented at the levee, and had the distinguished honour (says his biographer) of *conversing* with the king for *five minutes*. Before he returned to the north, he had a private audience of their majesties at Kew.

The death of his son, James Hay Beattie, in 1790, was a severe trial to the feelings of a parent. In his 18th year, this young man, who united indefatigable application to uncommon genius, was appointed his father's assistant and successor, and promised to be an ornament to the university. The doctor's second son, Montagu, with whom he went to London in 1791, died in 1796.

These, and other misfortunes, *harrowed up the soul* of Dr. Beattie, and his health, never at any time good, was thereby very considerably impaired. He was no longer under the necessity of doing the duty of the class, because he had the influence to get Mr. George Glenney appointed his assistant and successor.

Of late years he entirely sequestered himself from society, and even the kind attentions and civilities of his friends and admirers were not relished by him. He dropped all correspondence with his old English friends, and their numerous inquiries after his health did not now excite those quick sensibilities of

which he had formerly been so susceptible. Premature old age, with all its infirmities, had made rapid advances upon him, and for three years before his death, he kept the house, and was for a great part of that time confined to his bed. If I mistake not, the last time he ventured out to take a short walk, was in the month of June, 1800. He was then very corpulent, and discovered extreme debility. At this time he was only about sixty-five years of age.

His person was about the middle size, of a broad, square make, which seemed to indicate a more robust constitution than he really had. He was, during the whole course of his life, subject to attacks of head-ach, which on many occasions interrupted his studies. His features were exceedingly regular; his complexion was somewhat dark; his eyes had remarkable expression.

In the earlier part of his life he showed great convivial talents, and was much admired in company, for his wit and uncommon flow of humour. He indulged himself, however, in liberties of that kind very seldom in his latter years. He was an admirable punster. His puns are often quoted in conversation in the north; which, as far as that kind of wit deserves praise, discover great facility of invention. In company he was remarkably silent, but he was not only attentive to the conversation, but seemed to be studying the features of those persons with whom he was in company.

Towards the close of life, Dr. Beattie endured much bodily pain; and, when, at length, he had become insensible to his own sufferings, he expired on the 18th of August, 1803.

The possession of genius, taste, and learning, and their direction to the best interests of mankind, ought, no doubt, to cover a multitude of sins; but we should also reflect that a well constituted mind, rich in its own resources, and susceptible of the most refined and elevated pleasures, is the least exposed to debasement from habits of low intemperance.

Yet that such a mind sometimes yields to degrading propensities, will not admit of dispute. A sense of false delicacy, or the partiality of friendship, may draw a veil over the melancholy fact: but the professed painter of human character is imperiously required to exhibit its diversities as he finds them, and not as he would wish them to be. More than one public teacher of youth has fallen a sacrifice to the immoderate use of ardent spirits: we can commiserate their fate; but we cannot patiently endure that they should be held up as paragons of conduct, or exalted into saints. Dr. Beattie's case admits of palliation and pity. The pressure of domestic affliction exhausted and paralyzed the finer sensibilities of his frame, unstrung the man, and left only a "wreck behind."

For the Literary Magazine.

ROMANCE OF REAL LIFE.

NOTHING is more pleasing than what may be called the romance of real life: such incidents as somewhat partake of the romantic or the marvellous, and are at the same time true. The following little story occurs in the letters of the countesses of Hartford and Pomfret, lately published.

A gentleman in Suffolk had an estate of two thousand pounds a-year; and an only son, who was brought up with the expectation of being heir to that fortune after his father's death. This took place when he was just four and twenty; but, when he came to look into his inheritance, he found the whole property so involved, that he had only left four hundred pounds a-year, which proved to be in church lands. He lived on this for about twelve months, but during that time was very melancholy. He then declared to his friends that it was against his conscience to enjoy the revenue of what had belonged to

the church, and that he could make himself easy in no other way but by restoring the lands; which he did, in spite of the persuasion of all his relations to the contrary, and left himself with no more than an annuity of fifty pounds. In the neighbourhood there was a quaker, who always went once, and sometimes twice a-year into Yorkshire, on business. At one house in that country he was received upon a footing of great intimacy, by an old gentleman, who had an only daughter, that was to be his heiress, elegant in her person, of good temper, and well accomplished. The quaker one day asked him why he did not get this young lady married. The gentleman replied, that it was what he wished to do, but he was determined never to dispose of her but to a man whose principles he approved, and who would come and settle upon the estate. If he could find such a person, he would give his daughter to him, though he was not worth a shilling. The quaker related to him the history of his neighbour: and the old gentleman was so much delighted with his character, that he desired the quaker to bring him to his house the next time he came; and, if the young people liked each other, it should be a match. The honest quaker returned home, and with great pleasure told the young gentleman the prospect of this good fortune; but was surprised to find all the arguments he could use wanted force on him to prevail on him to go. He declared that he would rather live upon his small annuity all his days, than marry a woman he did not previously love, though she possessed the wealth of the Indies. When the time drew near for the quaker to go again into Yorkshire, he applied to a relation of the young gentleman with whom he lived, and showed him several letters from the lady's father, requesting him to bring his friend along with him. By the importunity of this relation, and the quaker's entreaty, the youth was at length prevailed on to accompany him;

but under a feigned name, and only as an acquaintance whom he had met by accident on the road. Matters being thus settled, he set out with the quaker, and was introduced to the old gentleman and his daughter. They were all three so well pleased with each other, that they soon became better acquainted, and the young gentleman discovered who he was. The marriage was quickly concluded; and he now enjoys eighteen hundred pounds a year, which his wife brought him, besides a considerable sum of money.—They have now lived together six years in perfect happiness, and have two children.

For the Literary Magazine.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION.

Written in 1799.

THE monarchy of France had been the fixed yet qualified despotism of ages, but prepared, at length, for its revolution by the incapacity, indolence, and improvidence of two successive reigns. This revolution began in a reform of the monarchy, proceeded to its subversion, and issued in the erection of a republic. The scene of its action was laid in one country, and among one people: but it was difficult to limit its influence; and the whole of Europe might have undergone a correspondent change.

The first step in the change had an alarming aspect to the courts of princes; for though the monarchy was suffered to remain, together with its law of entail, determining that humiliating question, "to whom do the people belong?" yet the principle of original equality, which reached to all below the throne, however fixed by usage, or made venerable by time, had left the monarchy without an aristocracy, its necessary support.

Thus an early combination against

it, of all the monarchical and aristocratical governments, as was natural, was formed; and which, in return, as naturally exasperating the revolution beyond its first principles, the monarchy was formally abolished; and in that act, the system of political equalization was completed, all men being now placed upon the same broad and primitive plane.

From some analogies, nevertheless, in the forms of her own government to that of France, it might have been expected that England would have shown less hostility than some other nations to the new principles; and that she might have viewed, with a less jealous apprehension, the phenomenon of French freedom: but entertaining against France, for four entire centuries, an innate or latent animosity, produced by every slight occasion into action, she, besides, had her heritable rights and establishments, the crown and the peerage, to be affected by the contagion of such levelling doctrines.

We may conceive again an accessory cause, even of a more forcible though different nature, why England should have carried her jealousy of the new principles, even beyond that of other nations. To the republican part of her own constitution it was that she owed the enterprising industry of her own people: and hence, principally, her pre-eminence in manufactures and commerce; and in France, once republicanised, she had anxious forebodings of a congenial people, that might one day rival her own, in arts which were the great spring and sources of her extraordinary opulence and power. Had she not, therefore, an incalculable interest in bringing that nation again under the torpor of the ancient government?

But though all the old European establishments might be equally indisposed towards France, yet, in their deportment to her, they originally varied. Where the body of the people, as in Germany, were altogether without a will to be consulted, there the princes were open and unreserved, in a meditated op-

position to her revolution; whilst, in England, from some deference to national sentiment, upon which alone he could safely act, the minister Pitt was obliged to dissemble, to be guarded and circumspect in all his projects: we see him, therefore, at first, content with a secret and silent stimulation of the concert of princes and powers; carefully watching the movements of the revolution, and gradually unfolding himself, as occasions offered, to bring the mass of the nation to approve of and to second his hostile designs.

Unhappily, the occasions sought for were too abundantly presented in the wild and flagitious misrule of the revolutionary leaders, and Englishmen were, by a too easy sensibility, brought to consent to a league with despotism, against a government by system, at least, free. But the people and their minister meant different things: they abhorred the crimes of the republic, and wished only to defend themselves against the danger of its example, to confine the growing power of France within some safe limit, but not to meddle with her system; he, on the contrary, rejoiced in the crimes, the restraint or punishment of which he made the stalking-horse to his real object, the destruction of the government; and, still concealing his motive, hypocritically acted upon one principle, under the pretext of another.

As to account for that atrocious conduct, which has not only so disgraced, but endangered the French revolution, in furnishing the pretence for arming against it, is not to justify it, it will not be improper, and it may be useful, to explore some of its causes: an endeavour towards it, therefore, shall be made.

The revolutionary change was made from a system which for ages had been fashioning the habits, manners, and understandings of the people, and forming a national character, with which their new governmental situation was altogether incongruous. Under the monarchy, men had been saved the trouble of

all political thinking and acting, and few, on this account, could come into the service of a republic with the qualifications necessary to a wise and temperate administration of its affairs, which, of consequence, too often took any direction given to them by ignorance or presumption. Men cannot be fitted for any material change in government but by the change itself, and the fitness, only in expectancy, must be waited for.

An evil, incident to all revolutions, was, in this, aggravated even by the virtue of individuals, by a mistake most frequent with the honest and the sincere. Many of the most respectable of the early revolutionists, disgusted at occasional irregularities, or too frequent violations of fundamental principles, either by emigration or by secession abandoned these disorders to themselves, which their authority or their presence might have controlled, and left the government to be orderly consummated in violence and iniquity. And in this regard the disqualification of the members of the constituent assembly was a self-denying ordinance, of peculiarly fatal operation.

Revolutions, besides, with whatever definite views they may set out, cannot be stopt at any precise point; and, if gone too far, can no more than a bearded arrow be drawn back; like balloons, too easy to let off, they are as difficult to be restrained or managed in their course: and this, in particular, from the occurrence of the foregoing causes, soon rose to a more than common height of wildness and extravagance.

To those who have observed, in common life, that to anticipate the depravity of character is often to ensure it, it will not appear fanciful to accuse prophecy itself of some instrumentality in this regard. The predictions of writers, chiefly of Burke, indignant at or jealous of the new principles, that the nation assuming them would become the outcasts of the moral world, falling in so much with general prejudice and policy, the agreement to treat France

as such contributed, in no small degree, to fulfil the prediction.

The effectual agency of these causes will not be questioned by any attentive observer; but if, still unsatisfied, we would seek for one of a cogency supposed more proportioned to such terrible effects, shall we not find it in the crusade itself against France? which, as it was maintained with the renewed spirit of the ancient fanaticism, was resisted with equal fervour: the investment of the revolutionary leaders with powers of magnitude to meet the danger, of themselves so liable to abuse; the exchange of the milder qualities of civil and domestic life for the hardness of the military character, occasioned by the conversion of the mass of citizens into soldiers; the severe watch kept upon the movements of such whose latent disaffection might be encouraged into action by the hope of foreign aid; and the general inquisition set up into opinions and conduct; all, as too natural a consequence, producing a mixed scene of trouble, persecution, cruelty, and oppression. The constitution, thus giving way to immediate security, was cast under foot, and the letter and the spirit trodden out; a system, if system we can call it, of ferocious anarchy ensued, said, by those who have forgotten all their historical reading, to be without a parallel in the world; great, indeed, but greatest, perhaps, only from being the last: a spirit not confining its destructive energy at home, but, in the war that ensued abroad, against enemies, showing itself in the barbarous invasion of the rights of every friendly nation, and in the absolute overthrow of some of them: a war, in which it has been the useless labour of either party to fix the charge of the aggression on the other, as if the final and inevitable cause had not been laid in the very nature of things; in the incompatible principles and situation of the parties themselves; or as if it was not substantially announced on the part of the coalition, when they, each member of it, noticed, with sullen dissa-

tisfaction, the first authentic information of a change in the government of France in favour of public liberty; or as if a thousand intermediate circumstances had not clearly indicated their determined hostility.

But as princes have become inimical to France from an apprehension of the political, so have people from a fear of the moral danger; and in all countries, numerous individuals among the earliest and best friends of the revolution, disappointed in their first hope, tired with the enormity and frequency of its crimes, begin, with its original enemies, to look again to a monarchy, as to an only remedy for them.

Whether this is to give way too much to feeling, and too little to philosophy, is a question for our sober consideration.

Do any such consent to a restoration of the monarchy for the sake of that justice which would, in this event, overtake the criminals of the revolution? These have already anticipated public justice, by executing it already on one another. "Like Saturn, the revolution, it has been said, has devoured its own children," and frequent successions of patriots and tyrants, deserving and undeserving, have fallen by the stroke of the guillotine. But "the appetite for blood has not grown by what it fed on." The present system of rule may be oppressive, but is not cruel. These good people, then, are too late for this object.

Is it for the sake of the pious vindicators of the social order? they who have used the same sword against anarchy in France, and for it in Poland; they to whom, as we have seen, may be traced back the disorders complained of, as to their principal source and most aggravating cause: disorders, in reality, to which these princes are greatly indebted for their present security against the contagion of liberty; operating, as they have done, among the human cattle submitted to their power, as an antidote to the murrain of republicanism. Princes, to

borrow from the law, not standing "*rectus in curia*," but as suitors taking advantage of their own wrong, and evidently making the vengeance of crimes they have themselves so highly inflamed, or produced, a mask to the objects of their own despotism.

Is it that the morals and religion of Frenchmen, lost under the revolution, would be found again on the restoration of the monarchy?

Of morals, if they are the indispensable elements of life, however driven out of it for a season, no adventitious force can long oppose their return.

Nor have we much to fear on the score of religion in all its modes, and apart from their distinguishing dogmas. A God is stamped upon our nature; his reality is witnessed by all the senses, and subscribed to by the understanding; commanding the faith equally of the wise and the weak; and no endeavour can long be successful that would exile him from our breasts. And it is remarkable, that Robespierre himself made the destruction of the atheists one of the means of his popularity. The hierarchy of the church, indeed, has been lost, with other national establishments; but has religion, in effect, lost by it? Establishments have an aptness to generate the mechanical habits of righteousness; where the soul creeps in superstition, it may rise to bigotry, but never soar to enthusiasm, the product always of a mind freed from the authority of imposed and regulated dogmas, though often of a misguided reason. Religion, truly, flourishes best when of spontaneous growth, and not under any state direction; and the maxim of "*laissez la faire*" is as well applied to it as to commerce; and where men are at liberty to believe as they please, and to worship as they believe, the danger is, that they may have too much of religion, rather than too little.

Is it, do they think, useless to persist longer in republicanism, seeing that the experiment made upon it has failed? Let us consider.

If a chemist be violently disturbed in the midst of an experiment, and his retorts and alembics broken over his laboratory, though his result be nothing but the fragments of his glasses, we conclude nothing against his experiment. If the house-builders, annoyed by stones, be driven from their labour to defend themselves, and the edifice be left in disorder, or ruin, we do not condemn the architect for the natural impracticability of his plan. The chemist and the architect are the systemists of France, and it is more correct to say that the experiment of republicanism has been disturbed by extraordinary and violent coincidences, than that it has failed: but if it has failed, would it not be fair and just to try it over again, under auspices less malign?

We always make separate considerations of the object of the voyage and the behaviour of the crew; and so ought we to distinguish between the object of this revolution, and the conduct of a Danton and a Robespierre; and not to lose any excellence in its principles in the contemplation of those who had so violated them. Had we always confounded the nature of all those religious or political changes, of whatever ultimate benefit to mankind, with the act of changing, which of them is it that we should not have to regret? In the religious, Luther's sober attempt at reform was disgraced by the maniacs of Munster. In the political, from the feverish state of society, and the looseness of the public order, crimes are the inseparable incidents. The abuse of a thing is not the same with its condemnation; and, in France, both native and alien causes have most powerfully administered to national passions, and greatly heightened the usually distempered state of revolution. But fever is no more the fixed habit of the political, than of the natural body: as paroxysms in either, they are to subside of course, leaving the commonwealth to calmness and repose, and the man to his ordinary condition of health.

Is it really for the sake of the nation itself, that we should consent to its return to the ancient regime, seeing, as is concluded, that the people are not fashioned to the new principles they have assumed in government?

Man, as a mutable being, is as infinitely diversified as are the circumstances that affect him, and government is the most influential of them all. And it is no less true, that the geographical indents and wavings, which mark the divisions of countries and governments, are as much the boundaries and separations of character as of dominion: the human mind, with individual exceptions, always passive, every where taking the impression of the laws, as fruits do that of the climate*. Man,

* Physical and moral nature are every where nearly the same. A chemical analysis of the air in Europe may serve for other quarters of the globe; and if we discover the constitution of the human mind in Kamtschatka, we know it tolerably well in Peru.

If any attention has been given to man as he is in our own country, Pennsylvania, there must have been noticed in him a characteristic disposition to conform in sentiment and habit to every varying fashion of the laws. A few confirmatory examples shall be given.

Our ancestors, a colony of England, brought with them an established law and practice favourable to primogeniture; but an early colonial statute, in the case of intestacies, admitting the elder born son but to a double share in the patrimony, the testamentary practice generally conformed to this rule of distribution. The law undergoing various changes from time to time, the like conformity has been witnessed, and it is now common to place, by will, all the children, male and female, upon an equal footing.

But the original sanguinary code of criminal law remained nearly entire, until our separation from the mother country enabled us to bring it to a milder state, and with it to produce a correspondent change in the character of the people in this respect. Death is reserved for crimes of the last depravity; and now to renew the exhibitions of the pil-

as formed by the Cæsars of the earth, stupified, vitiated, and de-

lory and the whipping-post, once beheld with such insensibility, would be to violate all the feelings of the heart. In connection with this is the management of the public prisons, wherein the late regulations *Howard* himself had but imagined in favour of humanity, have been actually realized.

These observations will be strengthened on the mention of the system which gradually abolishes negro slavery. The act for this purpose not having yet worked all its way, some cases of slavery remain, but none of its severity remains; for where, as in these cases, the former rights are left unimpaired by the law, its influential morality has not failed to extinguish the tyrannous spirit attached to the prerogatives of master-ship.

At no time did the system of Pennsylvania suffer, with the Roman laws of the ten tables, the person of the debtor to be divided piecemeal among his creditors; but, almost as unmerciful, he was once liable to an indefinite term of imprisonment, and creditors were not thought cruel in carrying their severity but as far as the law; but the law since relaxing in its rigours, creditors have become less obstinate, and frequently go so far in mildness beyond the law as to be reproachable with a lenity too encouraging to idleness or knavery.

Enabled, by American independence, to clear our code of whatever had relation to the modes of religion, and made invidious distinctions between the worshippers of God, the consequential silence itself of the law has become a law authorising all the varieties of opinion and worship. And whatever may be individual zeal, sectarian bigotry, partialities, and hatred are chiefly done away, and men, content with their own creed, seldom enquire the form of others. All the sects appear to form one harmonious and assisting brotherhood; and sacramental tests, the qualifications to office, blasphemous compromises of religion with policy, are unknown among us.

It is impossible to suppose but that the mind has, with the changes of the law, in these instances, been improved in its sense of justice, liberty, and humanity.

pressed, seems but fitted for an unqualified slavery. Taken out of their hands, he will never, indeed, so far improve upon his nature, and arrive at a perfection, rendering the discipline of government unnecessary to him, as is contended for by visionary writers, but may sufficiently approximate to it to fit him for some at least of those free forms which theory, upon the ground-work of human happiness, may have set up: and as a long series of arbitrary rule had imparted to the mind of Frenchmen its congenial qualities, why should not republicanism, in its turn, do the same, but, in truth, not so suddenly as to answer to our impatience? We cannot anticipate effects by the contemplation only of the causes which are to produce them. A first summer's day gives nothing but the promise of the season.

It may be urged, that that political condition of man, which has been the general order of the world to this day, has best agreed with his nature and experience, as it has been so long consecrated by universal opinion: but government, standing with man for ages upon the false predicate of an absolute property, and not an accountable trust, his veneration had for ever precluded his reasoning upon its effects; taking all its evils as of its very essence, he reverently submitted; and history, duly recording the crimes of hereditary despotism, has seldom made a question of its rights. Our reason has at length made a discovery that men belong to themselves, and the world begins to kick against the superstition of hereditary power, the standing cheat of five thousand years, and so long successfully guarded by all the means afforded to the jealousy of kings and nobles. But experience and opinion, without reasoning, are nothing but habits, such as have so long supported a Turkish empire, and so much longer given assurance to the doctrine of witchcraft.

Our best moral poet has, indeed, said that "that government is best,

which is best administered;" but two things may be considered as greatly influenced by government, the human happiness, and the human character. In a well-administered system of despotism, and this is possible, our happiness would seem complete, if an undisturbed and uniform tranquillity, and the absence of all care, but the personal and domestic, can constitute happiness: but if any period can be fixed on, when the character of man suffered the most rapid declension, it was, perhaps, when this species of felicity was at its greatest height; including in it the five successive reigns from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius, the best and ablest princes ever placed at the head of human affairs. How rare, indeed, are those personal virtues in sovereigns, which counteract the natural tendencies of unlimited power!

But something beyond the quiet and serenity of animal life should be the aim of man; formed, as it is useful to him to suppose, in the image of his Maker, it should be his part to expand his faculties, to widen the horizon of his mind, and to raise the level of his condition; in fine, to become a creature as efficient as his nature will suffer him to be. What so conducive to this exalted end as a participation in the government of his country, which may call into activity whatsoever there may be in him of spirit or genius! This benefit is not to be found but in the republican forms.

What else but government is it that constitutes the difference between the ardent, energetic citizen of New England, and the passive, listless native of Indostan; where, under an unqualified despotism, private property is made sacred; and where revolution "can only change the ruler, without affecting in the least the peace or order of the people." Mr. Adams must have had this certain consequence in his mind, when he said, in his book of constitutions, that it would be better that America should go through all the revolutions of the Grecian states,

than to establish an absolute monarchy, notwithstanding the great and real improvements made in that kind of government.

Do these dissatisfied men wish the whole of the French revolution undone, because, in sober judgment, too much may have been done? This is a kind of evil the world has had too frequent occasion to deplore. A revolution is seldom a tranquil work of the deliberative wisdom of all the parties in interest, sitting upon a question of the public good; the impetus, besides, given to the passions by the exertions of an effect to overcome any restraining force, necessarily carrying it beyond its true point. If America be quoted as an example to the contrary, let it be remembered, that having no domestic sovereign, nobles, or priesthood to hold back, there was little of this internal force to overcome, and that our revolution was a concurrent act of the people.

Of power, indeed, it may be said, that, like a musical instrument, it is to be wound up by degrees; but, like that instrument, can it be reduced by quietly turning back the pegs? The attempt is sure to be resisted by the combined strength of those, who have an interest in keeping it at full stretch; and he is but an incompetent judge of human nature, who supposes that the tone of power can be lowered, otherwise than by breaking the strings: that is, by revolution. The gradual freedom of England, under the houses of York and Lancaster, forms no real exception; and the concessions of despotism were nothing more than the biddings of contending parties for popular name and support. Under Charles I, liberty, and for the first time, was won by arms.

Is it that the French nation has shown itself undeserving of its new acquisition of liberty? This is to blunder in our ideas concerning that blessing. If liberty, according to our correctest constitutional language, be an antecedent right of nature, it is not to be first earned by

our virtues; and as the title is not gained by our deserts, so neither can it be lost by them. The language also is, that it is a right indefeasible, against which, therefore, there can be no prescription of power or of usage: and where the possession has been wrested from men, it is at all times resumable by them without waiting until, by any moral improvement, they seem to have merited it. Would a return to a monarchical regimen operate as an alternative in the moral health?

Further, if the powers of government are to be taken from the many of the community, from defect of virtue, ought they to be transferred to the few, unless the few are clear from vice? Now princes, the few we mean, so far from such meritorious exemption, are commonly not only corrupt in themselves, but are the most powerful of all the instruments of corruption in their subjects: and thus, in the good they abstract from society in the deprivation of its natural rights, and in the evil they inflict, they too often do a double injustice to the human race.

Let us take a view of modern royalty. The child destined to be a king is first put into the hands of the priests, where his instruction is a reverence for the church, and his learning a knowledge of its superstitions; the rest of his education is too slight to deserve the name; one lesson alone being carefully inculcated on him: that "sovereign power is derived solely from God." He is then passed over to the women, and in due time becomes one of the masters of mankind, but ignorant of all the arts of governing, and neglectful of every obligation of sovereignty. Indolent and incapable himself, he is perceived but through his mistresses and his courtiers, and the history of at least Roman catholic Europe has, for ages, been but little more than that of some profligate successions of knaves and strumpets. An inglorious and filthy course, passed in alternate lewdness and devotion, is finished by

confession and absolution, and the prince dies in peace, and, such the stupifying effect of a habitual obedience to despotism, amidst the unfeigned sighs and regrets of his people : and his successor stands ready to follow him in his life and in his death. It is as much better that a prince should be bred by thieves than by monks, as it is less fatal to his people that he should have perverted morals than a perverted understanding.

If, for argument's sake, we admit the new system to have failed upon the experiment, who has conversed with general history to so little purpose as not to discover, that almost all the known forms, from the first assemblings into communities and nations, have failed also, unless man was made to be oppressed, and that the ends of his creation are best answered, "when," as a celebrated writer says is the case, "the laws which regulate the political order have doomed the one half of mankind to indigence, to fraud, to servility, to ignorance, and superstition ; and the other half to be the slaves of all the follies and vices which result from the insolence of rank, and the selfishness of opulence ?"

"Can any good come out of Nazareth?" was once mistakenly asked ; and our judgments are constantly duped by our prejudices or our sensibilities. He who, in the middle of the seventeenth century, had viewed with the natural emotions of contempt and detestation an English parliament, so much made up of ignorance and brutality, the pulpits engrossed by an absurd fanaticism, an army dominating over the legislature, and the sovereign led to the scaffold against the general sense of the nation, and fantastic ideas of government universally prevailing, would with difficulty have admitted the possibility of any good to arise out of such compounded evil.* And it is true, that to this

* But after a hurricane has past over, we have something more to do than to count the wrecks of ships, or the de-

disorderly period is England indebted to the perfecting of her constitution. No entire scheme of improvement was then supplied ; but the practical principles of a free government, which were then first conceived, were remembered, and, at a more temperate season, interwoven into her system ; whilst the accompanying dreams and speculations of anarchy were soon abandoned or lost. So true it is, that in government, as well as in science, of whatever is offered to the understanding, it is the rational and the useful part generally that will ultimately remain. That which in the language of loyalty was degraded to an impious rebellion, furnished out the best materials for a "glorious revolution."

But France, with all her intemperate conduct, has temperately systematised. She stands upon the genuine ground of representation, and exhibits many of the essential principles of good government. And truly there is little in her constitution offensive to sober sense. Her intermediate electoral assemblies is a real stumbling block to the deceitful ambition of popular parasites, and, as a check to the dangerous impetus of the multitude, is, perhaps, the only expedient to reconcile the steadiness and consistency of the republican administration with the continuance of its form.

But if, struck with the show of present evils, we are willing to surrender the chances of any future good to come out of the new French system, as constructed upon improved principles, and to suffer the up-hill labour of the revolution to roll down again like the stone of Sisyphus, it ought certainly to be for the sake of some great immediate good. But would the falling back to monarchy further any of the purposes of humanity, for which it is chiefly wish-

struction of barns. We have to consider whether the storm has not purified the sky, changed a deleterious atmosphere, or produced a better vegetation.

ed? Would blood and proscription instantly cease? No; not until banishment, confiscation, and the scaffold should, in the opinion of the restorers, expiate all republican offences. This would only be for murder and mischief to change hands.

But would the monarchy, supposed to be so refined, suffer any relaxation of the security of its ancient maxims and principles? Rather would it not be reinforced by all such of the provisions of despotism, as would for ever check the slightest movements towards a state of liberty. Indeed this would be its safest conduct; for where despotism is the end, the more there is of it, the greater the insensibility to it. To reconcile slavery to its condition, it must be made worse and not better. Any improvement, bringing with it such lights of the understanding, would give but a clearer discernment of the yet immense distance between its most meliorated state and that of freedom.

In this view of things, France would only fly from evils in possession, to those in expectancy, ay, in certainty, as great in the mass, and longer in the duration. What then is to be gained by a countermarch to monarchy, which some men of inconsiderate goodness would consent to? Would it not be wiser to suffer the republic to proceed, and in any reasonable time to work off its own feculence, and in its own manner to purge itself of its vices and its disorders, without reverting to the corrosive remedy of arbitrary power, seeing that the backward journey to a settled tranquillity would be larger and rougher than the forward, and experiencing, that though the physical diseases may often be abandoned to despair, the moral always yield to the alteratives of good laws?

Further, from this great experiment made upon the principles of freedom, if abortive, and perhaps so from not being permitted to proceed, will not the principles be

more effectually banished from the greater part of Europe, where they are, indeed, scarcely found but in speculation? Will they not be reprobated by the joint voice of the civilians and statesmen there; be condemned as unsuited to the nature and condition of man, and persecuted accordingly; Locke and Sydney be remembered but as dangerous heresiarchs in the science of government; and all literature, following the fashion of the times, put on the livery of despotism; which more than ever would be the rule of power? England itself seems already disposed to an encreasing reverence of kingly domination and lordly greatness.

The foregoing are considerations for the friends of free government of whatever country; there are others, that address themselves with peculiar force to those of our own.

The half principles of freedom our ancestors brought with them from the mother country, expanded to full size under their descendants, and made the fundamental of our government, have been our happiness and our safety; and they would have been our glory too, if, carried back in their perfected state beyond the Atlantic, they could be suffered to take root in a great and powerful nation. It should be with reluctance that we forego a hope so flattering to our honest pride.

It is a matter also of serious concern, how America would be affected by such a winding up of the present European scene. Without the countenance or support of any other country, she would stand alone in maintaining the outcast opinions of the ancient world. Her example in strict republicanism, though successful, would not save the principles from the general odium and reproach: to our position on the globe, or to something peculiar in the American character, might our preservation under them be ascribed, and their natural malignancy still believed in, as there would be no question about the

consuming nature of fire, though in it a salamander should live, or the asbestos be indestructible.

Already is our country looked on with an evil eye by all the despots of the other hemisphere, as having furnished the immediate spark which lighted up the destructive fires of France. A universal combination amongst them of opinion, a harmony as it were of prejudice, would thus prevail against her, though there might not be any very dangerous union of force.

Every great and respectable people thus adverse to us in principle and practice, is there no danger that we might begin to distrust the soundness of our own political tenets, for which we contended so much and so long, and suffer them in the end to grow out of fashion, and be laid aside?

These are some of the general and particular considerations which might influence an American citizen on this subject. Consistently

enough with his own principles, he might contemplate without dissatisfaction such reverses or failures in the fortune of the French people as might bring them to a just sense of themselves, correct general vice, or retribute national or individual offences; but it would not consist with these principles to assist, even with a wish, the designs of those who would overthrow their republic: an event bringing with it, for transient and local calamities, evils as great in their measure, co-extensive with the civilized world, and durable with ages.

The wise man in holy writ, conceiving such a sameness in human nature, has said there was nothing new under the sun. Even the French revolution is not such a unique in character as to be altogether without its resemblances: similar causes in the Roman story once produced some of the like effects, as may be seen in the comparison of some circumstances.

Rome.

The crimes of royalty producing the total abolition of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic.

The emigration of nobles adhering to the deposed king Tarquin, followed by the confiscation of their estates, and "every Roman who should by word or deed endeavour to restore him devoted by religious ceremonies to the infernal gods."

Tarquin going about, collecting the neighbouring nations, to unite their forces for his restoration.

The general combination of the neighbouring states against republican Rome.

The attempt of Sevola to assassinate the king Porrenna, engaged in the cause against the republic; and the story of the three hundred young Romans sworn to take his life, celebrated by all their historians.

The decree of Poplicola making it lawful to kill without condemnation.

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France.

The weakness and extravagance of the kings bringing about the overthrow of the monarchy, and the establishment of the republic.

The emigration of many of the French nobility, adherents of Louis XVI, and confiscation of their estates; their perpetual banishment decreed, under pain of death.

Louis sending his agents Breteuil, and Mallet du Pan, to the German powers, to engage their support.

The concert of princes against republican France.

John de Brie's project of embodying a set of men, for the purpose of murdering all the sovereigns of Europe; this not agreed to.

The sacred duty of insurrection against any government that should

Rome.

tion, any who should aim at being master of the public liberty.

The republican spirit not so universal as to be without exceptions; the remembrance of the pleasures under the monarchy inciting many of the young men, and among them the two sons of Brutus, to a conspiracy for the restoration of Tarquin.

The ferocious patriotism of the revolutionists exemplified in the instance of the elder Brutus, in the easy sacrifice he made of his two sons, on the altar of liberty.

France.

threaten the public liberty; taught in the second constitution, but dropt with that constitution.

The attempt at counter-revolution, made by the partizans of the old French court, regretting, probably, the loss of its manners, pleasures, and luxuries.

The unnatural denunciation, in France, of sons by their fathers, and of fathers by their sons, on account of political opinions and conduct.

France finding in the Roman history some parallel in the conduct of the revolution, may also find, in its own history, some parallel in the principles.

John II, forced by the pressure of the war with Edward III of England, assembled the states-general of the kingdom, in 1355.

The first act of this assembly was to render the assent of the three orders necessary to every law.

[The historian remarks from this preliminary the high credit at this period of the *tiers état*.]

In voting an army, they fixed its force, and made the taxes for its maintenance so general, as to include in them the king and his family.

The states reserved to themselves the appointment of all officers employed in levying and applying the tax, which the king and his council reluctantly consented to.

The king engaged not to divert the application of the tax from its proper object: if attempted, the officers are under oath to prevent it.

The tax but for *one* year; the assembly to convene the next.

The king surrenders the right of false coinage.

For himself, his family, and court, the king renounces the privileges of taking corn, wine, victuals, horses,

carriages. On a journey he can only require of the magistrate certain necessaries, as tables, chairs, straw, beds, hay, &c., paying the just price. Offences in this case punishable as robbery, and fourfold restitution made.

[This article, says the historian, exposes the former vexations in the practice of the right of purveyance.]

The king not to make forced loans. Creditors forbid to assign their debts to more powerful people, or to privileged officers, on pain of forfeiture.

The ordinary judges are to be left in possession of their jurisdictions, and extraordinary commissions forbidden. Rangers of forests, &c., to lose their cognizance in matters of hunting, fishing, &c. *Sergens* (bailiffs) not to exact beyond their fixed salaries; nor to take several days' pay for executions served in one; nor to make deputies.

The assembly confirms a former law concerning labourers. They forbid all traffic to counsellors of parliament, and to a large description of persons.

The king, in future, to forbear calling on the *arriere ban*, but on evident necessity, and on advice of the orders, that is, the states-general.

Severe regulations made concern-

ing false musters; princes of the blood not exempt from them.

Troops on march not to halt more than one day at any place, and officers to answer for the conduct of their soldiers. The king to conclude neither peace nor truce but on advice of deputies chosen by the states.

In 1356, the states meet again, and re-vote the army.

[The historian observes, that from the contempt into which the body of the French noblesse had fallen, the influence of the *tiers etat* in this assembly is not to be wondered at.—*Histoire de France de Volley, tom. 9.*]

John dying, his artful successor, Charles, prevented any further assembling of the states; persecuted or destroyed its leading patriots; the laws restrictive of absolute power were abolished or neglected; and the sense of public liberty was soon lost. [In this way have the rights of man been treated at all times.]

For the Literary Magazine.

RELIGIOUS SINGULARITIES.

THE following account of a religious community in Wales will powerfully remind American readers of Jemima Wilkinson and her establishment, or the societies of the shakers.

Howel Harris was born at Trevecca, in Wales, in 1714. Having a respectable paternal estate in reversion, he was designed by his family for the church, and having received the rudiments of a classical education, was entered at St. Mary's Hall, in Oxford; but he did not pursue or perfect those studies at the university, which might have given him rank and character among its members.

When he was about the age of twenty-five, he began his career as an itinerant preacher, sacrificing all views of worldly aggrandizement to what he conceived to be his highest duty. But a total want of

rationality in the pursuit miserably detracted from that approbation, which must otherwise have been extorted even from his opponents, by the unquestionable respectability of the motive. He was the friend of Whitfield, with whom he afterwards quarrelled, and the first importer of the methodistical tenets and discipline into Wales, as Vavassor Powel had been among the first to introduce the earlier and more respected modes of dissent. He actually officiated in the fields; but, after having undergone much persecution, and incurred some danger in his travels, he determined to establish a religious family at Trevecca, adopting it as his own, and devoting to it his patrimonial estates, with all the savings of a parsimonious life.

With unaccountable inconsistency, he built a large and costly house, and laid out the grounds in an expensive style. In this house, and on his own estate, he collected a number of families, professing the same religious absorption of mind. He even purchased farms in the neighbourhood, and established manufactories, to as great an extent as his finances would admit, or opportunities presented themselves of laying out his money. The condition he imposed on those who joined his community was, that they should pursue their avocations of husbandry or trade solely for the benefit of the common stock, disclaiming all private property, or interference in the management of the joint capital, renouncing the society of strangers, and adhering punctually to the rigid observances of the family. The institution continued to flourish during his lifetime in almost a formidable degree. Their farms entirely supplied their numerous families dispersed over the estates; for the mansion-house was occupied by his own family and closer intimates. There was besides a large surplus for the markets; since their inflexible sobriety was considered to have the effect of making them good farmers, though the business was much

interrupted by their unremitting prayers. They also manufactured, independent of other articles, large quantities of fine flannels, the quality of which was in high request all round the country, and large orders were executed for so distant a market as Bristol.

Mr. Harris died in July, 1773. The produce of their labours was all made over to him without controul, though exclusively and conscientiously applied to their use, and the extension of the establishment. By his will, he bequeathed the whole of his possessions, hereditary and accumulated, to the maintenance of the family for ever, on the strict principles of its foundation. He left two trustees, with regulations for the replacing them, who were to live in the house, receive the earnings of the people, conduct the pecuniary arrangements and devotional services, and in every respect exercise that plenary authority, which he had himself preserved. He was married, and had a daughter, to whom he left nothing, except an apartment in the house on the same terms as the others, if ever she chose to become a member of the family. It is, however, to be observed, that her mother's fortune, not inconsiderable, rendered miss Harris independent of her father. But this independence, and all worldly cares and possessions, she was to relinquish if ever she came to Trevecca. She did not make that election, for she married a gentleman of Brecknock, of the name of Prichard, before Mr. Harris's death.

There have been, within the recollection of persons residing at Talgarth, one hundred and forty efficient members of this extraordinary family, besides children: there are now not more than sixty; but the strict ritual of the place is still preserved; the character of industrious seclusion and eccentric fanaticism is sedulously maintained; and the visitor of Trevecca may see it now, as in the days of the founder. There is service in the house three times a day all the year round,

the time of harvest not excepted: each person is allowed a certain proportion of absences, on the same plan as the attendance of chapel is regulated for the students in college, and if the number is exceeded, the offender loses the benefit of the institution, however reasonable may be his excuse, or urgent the plea of his necessity. The service, though so frequent, is very long; and a numerous attendance is, by these regulations, constantly secured. It were much to be wished that it were better worth attending!

I happened to arrive there, without any previous knowledge of the place or institution, about three o'clock on a Sunday, when a number of decently-dressed and well-behaved people were assembling; with whose manners on the outside of their chapel I was well pleased; but the inside exhibited such a melancholy exhibition of fanatical fatuity, as, happily for the honour of human intellect, is rarely to be met, but among these jumping enthusiasts. The speaker had his face and head completely muffled with a red pocket-handkerchief tied under his chin. The cause of this might have been candidly ascribed to the tooth-ach, had I not observed at Brecknock and elsewhere, that the preachers of these jumping sects uniformly array themselves in a similar paraphernalia, probably in an ostentatious show of squalid piety. The rest of his apparel was consistently mean; and all his air and manner indicated the lowest ignorance, though I could not judge of his language, that being Welsh. Its effects, however, atoned in power for what it might want in elegance, or the means of rational conviction. The groans of his hearers, sometimes in a solo part, and sometimes in chorus, corresponded with the scarcely human contortions and ejaculations of the preacher. Some stood, some knelt, and some were stretched upon the floor in prostrate humiliation. I did not, however, stay for the animating sound of *Glory to the Lamb*, lest the forgetfulness of su-

perstitious enthusiasm, violating the laws of hospitality, might have compelled me also to join in the fantastic rites of light-heeled devotion. Such are the habits of an institution, which has culled, with scrupulous care, all the absurdities and evils of the monastic life, except the prohibition of marriage, and at the same time passed a severe edict of exclusion against all its learning and utility.

For the Literary Magazine.

DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE
BEAUTIFUL AND THE PICTU-
RESQUE.

VISIBLE beauty, abstracted from all mental sympathies or intellectual fitness, consists in harmonious, but yet brilliant and contrasted combinations of light, shade, and colour; blended, but not confused; and broken, but not cut into masses; and it is not peculiarly in straight or curve, taper or spiral, long or short, little or great objects, that we are to seek for these; but in such as display to the eye intricacy of parts, and variety of tint and surface. The perceptions of visible projection and visible distance are artificial. And hence, smoothness being properly a quality perceivable only by the touch, and applied metaphorically to the objects of the other senses, we often apply it improperly to those of vision; assigning smoothness, as a cause of visible beauty, to things which, though smooth to the touch, cast the most sharp, edgy, and angular reflections on the eye; and those reflections are all that the eye feels, or naturally perceives; its perception of projecting form, or tangible smoothness, being, as before observed, entirely artificial or acquired, and therefore unconnected with pure sensation. The reflections from the polished coats of very sleek and pampered animals are harsh and angular, and the outlines of their bodies sharp and edgy: wherefore,

whatever visible beauties they may possess do not consist in their smoothness.

The picturesque has a character distinct from that of the sublime and the beautiful, and equally independent of the art of painting, though it has been pointed out by that art, and is one of its most striking ornaments. The name is not material. There are certain qualities which uniformly produce the same effects in all visible objects, and even in objects of hearing, distinguishable as a class from all others. These qualities are variety and intricacy; the latter of which, in landscape, is that disposition of objects, which, by partial and uncertain concealments, excites and nourishes curiosity.—Roughness, therefore, sudden variation, and a certain degree of irregularity, are ingredients in the picturesque; as smoothness, gradual variation, and a certain degree of uniformity are in the beautiful.

While beauty acts by relaxing the fibres somewhat below their natural tone, and is accompanied by an inward sense of melting and languor, the effect of the picturesque is curiosity, which keeps the fibres at their full tone.

If we examine our feelings on a warm genial day, in a spot full of the softest beauties of nature, the fragrance of spring breathing around us, pleasure then seems to be our natural state; to be received, not sought after; it is the happiness of existing to sensations of delight only; we are unwilling to move, almost to think, and desire only to feel and to enjoy. How different is that active pursuit of pleasure, when the fibres are braced by a keen air, in a wild, romantic situation; when the activity of the body almost keeps pace with that of the mind, and eagerly scales every rocky promontory, explores every new recess! Such is the difference between the beautiful and the picturesque.

One principal effect of smoothness is, that it gives an appearance of quiet and repose; roughness, on the contrary, a spirit and animation:

hence, where there is a want of smoothness, and consequently of repose, there is less beauty; and where there is no roughness, there is a want of stimulus and spirit, and consequently of picturesqueness. We might illustrate this distinction in a variety of visible objects; in buildings, in water, in trees, in animals, in men, and in pictures. And in music, however like a solecism it may be to speak of picturesqueness, yet movements which abound in sudden, unexpected, and abrupt transitions; in a certain playful wildness of character, and an appearance of irregularity, are no less analogous to similar scenery in nature, than the concerto or the chorus to what is grand and beautiful to the eye.

For the Literary Magazine.

ITALIAN PIETY.

A GREAT many years ago, so many that nobody can tell the exact number, the people of Florence began to build a church; but whatever advance they made in the day, like Penelope's web, was destroyed in the night. Upon this ill success, they determined to take two young unbroken steers, and yoke them together with a great stone hanging down between their necks; and, setting them off, wherever they should stop, to erect there the church. In this they did very right, for the worship they intended was certainly fitter for the judgment of beasts than of men. But to my story.

The place at which the animals became tired was about seven miles from the city, among some prune trees belonging to the family of the Buondelmonti. Here they set to work to clear the ground, and dig the foundation, when a lamentable voice struck their ears from below. On this, one of the workmen threw away his pickaxe; and moving the loose earth more lightly, found the image of the Virgin Mary in *terra*

cotta (a species of baked clay), with a child in her arms, and a scar on her forehead that had occasioned the aforesaid cry. This wonderful discovery made them proceed with great alacrity in their work: and she had soon not only a large habitation, but a new order was constituted to her honour and service, with great and unusual privileges annexed to it. And, upon all general calamities ever since, she is conducted with great pomp into the city of Florence, and remains in the Duomo till, upon frequent prayers and remonstrances, she is so good as to remove or remedy the evil. An inundation of the Arno (says a female traveller in 1741) being the occasion of her present coming among us, her entry was preceded by all the religious orders, two and two; the gentlemen and others carrying lighted flambeaux. On each side the guards were drawn out; the streets, made clean, were crowded with the common people; and the windows were adorned with tapestry, damask, &c. and filled with ladies. In a large box, about the size of a woman, covered with seven rich mantles, having as many candles stuck before, and a canopy over it, passed the *Dama incognita*; for as this image is only a tile, the priests very justly fear that it would rather raise contempt than veneration if it was seen, and therefore have spread amongst the people a notion that whoever sees it is immediately struck blind. She still remains at the cathedral; whither all the *great* vulgar, and the *little*, go to pay their devotions. But the weather, having not at all mended since her arrival, they have deferred her return till the sun shines, that it may be attributed to her; and in the mean time they find out people possessed with devils, that she may divert herself in driving them out. She was followed in her march by the senate of forty-eight, in their crimson robes, with all the officers of justice.

I remember, when I was at Lucca (says the same observer), a knight of

Malta who led me about the cathedral, which is a very ancient one, perceiving that I looked at what appeared to me a better sort of sentry box, standing on one side of the middle aisle, told me that it was the repository of the *Volto Santo*; and perceiving, by my manner of answering, that I did not understand what he meant, he told me that a great sculptor having designed a crucifix, and not being able to perform it to his mind, went to bed very much discontented; and on the next morning this was brought to him by angels, ready made, from heaven. I asked of what material it was formed? he answered, of wood; and I very gravely replied, I did not know before that trees grew in heaven. He said (believing me really surprised at my new discovery), that God hath a mind to show his power. This, once a year, and once only, is exposed; at which time, they say, people are so eager to see it, that, crowding in, many break their limbs, and some lose their lives: yet at the same time their glory is to admit no Jews, jesuits, nor inquisition in their territory.

For the Literary Magazine.

SKETCH OF ST. HELENA.

THE island of St. Helena has been in the possession of Europeans during three hundred years; it has been visited by men of science, and is a refreshing station for the shipping of the greatest trading company in the world; yet it has remained so long without its own historian; a circumstance, which, considering the rage for making, and publishing, and reading accounts of voyages and travels, is somewhat inexplicable.

This island lies in the Atlantic ocean, at nearly a thousand miles south of the equinoctial line, and about as many from the coast of Africa. From its great elevation,

and the purity of the surrounding atmosphere, it is seen at the distance of seventy or eighty miles. On a nearer approach, it assumes a ragged, black, and desolate appearance. Its indented coast measures twenty-eight miles in circumference. Its greatest length is ten miles, and its greatest breadth between six and seven. The hills nearest to the sea are from eight hundred to fourteen hundred feet in height. Those in the interior are still more elevated; and the loftiest peak of the central ridge rises to 2692 feet above the level of the sea. The higher regions abound in verdure and luxuriant vegetation; while the lower hills on the coast, and most of the valleys that lie between them, are not only naked and barren, but, from their mouldering composition, and the decay which has taken place, they have an aspect of rudeness and desolation, which it would be difficult to describe, and not easy to conceive, without having seen them.

The island was discovered by the Portuguese, on the 21st of May, 1508, or St. Helen's day, from which circumstance it derived its name. It was found without any human inhabitant, without quadrupeds, and almost without birds. It has remained in possession of the English since the year 1674.

The sea tortoise, which now frequents the narrow strands and coves about the shore much seldomer than formerly, is perhaps the only creature whose ancient retreat has been disturbed by foreign intrusion. In appropriating and subduing the wastes of nature, only to extend and multiply her productions, in diffusing life, together with the means of supporting and rendering it comfortable, and in effecting these benevolent purposes without injury or injustice to others, man would exercise a noble prerogative, befitting the rank which he holds in the creation: but it is to be lamented that Europeans have seldom traversed the ocean for the purpose of practising this rare beneficence. The progress of their discoveries,

instead of diffusing the benefits of nature, and communicating the advantages of culture to remote lands and their inhabitants, are marked only by rapine and injustice. From the painful recital of the wrongs committed by them on the opposite shores of America and Africa, we may turn, with a momentary satisfaction, to contemplate the appropriation and improvement of a desolate and barren spot; the rise of an establishment, effected without injury to any one; and a little colony speaking the language of England, in a remote island of the Æthiopic ocean.

The hills, of which the island is composed, are formed of beds of lava, which vary in their depth, colour, and texture. The predominant rock is a heavy, close-grained basalt, of a flinty hardness, generally of a dark blue or black, though sometimes red, or party-coloured. It is always regularly fissured, and runs in distinct layers, which manifest a visible tendency to regular forms. In a few places, the whole is truly prismatic. The columns are usually perpendicular, but sometimes oblique, and often beautifully curved. The summits and bases of the rocks are frequently marked by cells and caverns: but these last also sometimes occur in the centre of the mass, and accompanied by a curious circumstance. In a quarry, situated in the interior part of the island, where these blue rocks are dug out, for the purposes of building, and where they readily separate in a regular shape, the stone when broken is found to have many large internal cavities, which contain a pure and wholesome water. They are generally quite filled with this water, which is shut up in the body of a rock, of the closest and most compact texture.

Several of the hills are argillaceous, and composed of horizontal and parallel strata, penetrated by perpendicular veins of loose and broken rock. From their disjointed texture, the vertical strata, which occupy the steep declivities, become

subject to what may be literally termed *dilapidation*.

In these places, they are seldom observed to be elevated much above the face of the hill, as the fragments separate and tumble down, in proportion as the surrounding soft parts decay, or are washed away: yet on the very summit of the hill, a portion of the stratum frequently remains entire, and rises to an amazing height. There is a singular groupe of these detached masses on the south side of the island, to which the inhabitants have given the names of Lot, Lot's Wife and Daughters. They rise to an astonishing height above the top of the hills on which they stand; and though they seem, at first sight, detached and unconnected masses, they are found, on examination, to form a part of the vertical strata, and probably from their position have resisted the decay which has taken place in the declivities. They are composed of distinct fragments, such as have been described, and have a most striking appearance, surrounded by deep chasms and tremendous precipices, and with clusters of argillaceous hills, the most picturesque and romantic, whose summits are all regularly fashioned; and discover every tint of colour, excepting that of vegetable green. Over all this part of the island, which borders on Sandy Bay, there is a wildness in the surrounding scenery, surpassing every thing which the writer of this has ever seen. One feels here, as if transported into a new planet, where every object strikes by its novelty, and is altogether unlike any thing which he has met with before. All the surrounding hills, cliffs, rocks, and precipices are so strangely fashioned, and so fantastically mixed and blended, that they resemble more the aerial shapes, which we see among the clouds, than any thing composed of denser materials.

The whole surface of the island is overspread with loose fragments of the blue basaltic rock, intermixed with light, spongy, and porous stones, of various hues. No sand

is found on the coast, except at one place; and there it is black, being evidently composed of fragments of the basaltic rocks.

The climate is serene, and uncommonly salubrious. The mean heat scarcely amounts to 69, and the range of the thermometer, taken at different heights, and for the period of a year, may be from 52 to 84. In a wide extent of sea, not subject to disturbance from contiguous lands, the trade wind maintains its uniform and settled course, and the weather is mild, benign, and tranquil. In such a happy region, at a vast distance from every other land, St. Helena is descried in the solitude of the ocean. Being of an extent too unconsiderable to affect or modify the general course of the weather, which predominates in these latitudes, it enjoys the same settled serenity of climate, the same exemption from storms, and the same unvarying revolution of seasons, which prevail through all the interior parts of the *Æthiopic*. It has no other wind besides that of the trade; it is never visited by hurricanes; and one may reside on it for several years without observing the phenomena of thunder and lightning.

The chief inconvenience to which the island is subject is want of rain; owing to the great uniformity of temperature, to the constancy of the trade wind, to the absence of land and sea breezes and regular periodical winds, to the remoteness of other lands, to the inconsiderable size of the island itself, and to the nakedness of its surface.

The list of plants indigenous to St. Helena is far from numerous. Among the nine or ten species of trees and shrubs reputed native, are, the tree-fern (which attains to the height of twenty or twenty-five feet, and bears a very close resemblance to the fern), the cabbage-tree, the ebony, &c. Of the smaller plants, the principal are, endive, purslane, wild celery, samphire, water-cresses, and different kinds of grasses. Some of the most thriving of the im-

ported vegetable productions are the oak, chesnut, ilex, bamboo, palm, weeping willow, orange, and apple trees, and plantain. The peach was once the most abundant fruit in the island: but an insect, introduced about thirty years ago, has destroyed most of the trees.

It is a curious circumstance, that this insect, which, according to the testimony of the inhabitants, was imported with the *Constantia* vine from the Cape of Good Hope, or with some shrubs from Mauritius, should not now settle on any of the plants on which it is supposed to have been brought hither. Its ravages are almost exclusively confined to the peach, the mulberry, and one or two of the native island shrubs. An old inhabitant, describing and lamenting the ravages it had made, could not forbear crying out, with tears in his eyes, "We would with pleasure have given up to it half the trees of the place, had it only spared our peaches, which we valued so much." But this inexorable little foe will listen to no such composition; and, having hitherto resisted every offensive means employed against it, is likely to continue its progress, till it has completely deprived the inhabitants of this wholesome and delicious fruit.

The heights of the island appear to have been the first places clothed with the native shrubs and plants; and these still grow on elevated situations, blended with exotics, which thrive equally well; so that it is difficult to say, whether the native island shrubs, or the furze, myrtle, Scots fir, the mimosæ of New Holland, or the heath and broom of Africa, prosper best. On these spots, the beauty of which is probably heightened by the prospect of surrounding barrenness, we have an opportunity of observing what the unassisted efforts of the climate, and of a highly productive soil, are capable of effecting.

Though attempts to cover the naked volcanic hills on the shore have not been sufficiently multiplied, there can be little doubt of their ul-

timate success. Some time ago, several of the inhabitants had formed themselves into a society for carrying on extensive plans of improvement; and they were powerfully assisted by Dr. Anderson, a gentleman well known in India for his ardent and active benevolence, and for his scientific pursuits. The want of adequate funds, and other difficulties, unfortunately abated their efforts; yet the result of their first experiments was very encouraging. We might advantageously plant the valleys with these sorts of palm trees which endure extraordinary droughts, and which would prove a certain resource in unpropitious seasons, or of the non-arrival of expected supplies. With the palms might be introduced such trees as yield the most wholesome and nutritious fruits, particularly the jack and mahwah. The want of shelter, firewood, and useful timber, might be supplied by the jungle shrubs of India, especially the mimosa, and by several forest trees, particularly the teak, the poon, and the banyan. They might easily obtain an artificial command of water, by means of tanks and reservoirs, in order to forward the first plantations, and to counteract the effects of long continued droughts.

When we consider how much this island might be improved and decorated by the addition of wood, it is difficult not to anticipate the striking and beautiful effects that would arise from it. There is here every variety and wildness of surface, which can result from the most fantastic configuration of rocks and hills; and this rude and natural scenery wants only the shade and embellishment of wood, to make the whole one of the most delightful and romantic spots in the world; and which, instead of disgusting the eye with a prospect so dismal and dreary under a benign and genial sky, would discover, in the remote solitude of the ocean, an object the most grateful and refreshing to those that approached it.

The inhabitants of St. Helena are

supposed to amount to about two thousand, of whom five hundred are soldiers, and six hundred blacks. The females born in the island are said to exceed the males in number. Though most of the families live in a state of comparative retirement, and in a situation apparently favourable to peace and happiness, few individuals seem to be satisfied with their condition; and even the natives express a strong desire of *going home*. Petty jealousies and intestine divisions, which are generally suspended during the shipping season, are sometimes revived when the island is free from bustle.

The arrival of the homeward-bound Indiamen is the greatest event of the year. It fills the whole settlement with alacrity and joy. They quit their gardens, flock to James town, open their houses for the accommodation of the passengers, and entertain them with plays, dances, and concerts. These gay assemblies are enlivened by the presence of many agreeable and handsome young women, natives of the place, who, amid the general festivity, seem to feel a peculiar interest in what is going forward; probably not without some throbbing expectations of being taken from a scene, where they are weary with constantly contemplating the same objects. The appearance of so much loveliness and beauty, cast away in a lonesome situation like this, has sometimes raised stronger emotions than those of mere sympathy, in the bosoms of their guests; and the native women of St. Helena have adorned domestic life, and graced the politest circles in England and India. To such fortunate and pleasing occurrences it may somewhat contribute, that many of the strangers, having escaped with impaired constitutions from the oppression and sultriness of an Indian atmosphere, experience a sudden renovation of health and spirits, under this mild and salubrious climate. Into minds thus exhilarated from the effect of returning health love easily finds an entrance.

But whether the expectations of the ladies are often favoured in this way, or not, the pleasure and benefit derived by convalescents from the climate tend greatly to enhance the enjoyment of their short stay here : and as the people with whom they live are of a courteous and obliging disposition, and readily take the trouble of showing whatever is worth seeing in the island, it may easily be supposed, that strangers will pass their time very agreeably. We love so much better to be pleased than to be instructed, that the qualities which inspire good-humour and complacency easily compensate the want of information and intelligence. The conversation of the natives is that of a plain unaffected people, chiefly conversant about their own concerns. A life of seclusion, passed upon a spot where one only sees the sky and the ocean, is not likely to make men philosophers or citizens of the world. Where the mind is limited in its views to the scenery and occupations of a petty isle, some of its conceptions will naturally betray the confined circumstances in which they arise. An observation made by a St. Helena lady, "that the arrival of the Indiamen in England must, she supposed, make London very gay," however it may excite a smile, was perfectly natural in the situation in which it was made.

The small farms and gardens yield some excellent fruits, pot-herbs, and farinaceous roots : but the island is in a great measure destitute of bread-corn, and is little adapted to the culture of grain. Besides, rats, caterpillars, and the peach insect have multiplied amazingly, to the great annoyance of the gardener and the agriculturist.

It is curious that some creatures, when brought into a climate that is new to them, should thus spread and increase to a degree beyond what they did in the countries from which they were imported. A very remarkable instance of this lately occurred in India, on the coast of

Coromandel, where, in the year 1796, a species of the cochineal insect, called the sylvester, was introduced from the Brasils. It was considered as a great acquisition, and much care was taken of it at first. It would feed on nothing but the common native opuntia, which is generally used for hedges all over the country. In a short time, the insect destroyed all the opuntias in the Carnatic ; and so complete was the havock which this voracious creature made, that the remaining stumps of the hedges, on which it had settled, looked as if they had been consumed by fire. Nor was this all ; for when the British army was in Mysore, in 1799, the natives mentioned what appeared to them very astonishing and unaccountable, that all their opuntias had about the same period been entirely consumed. In this manner, a small insect, introduced from the Brasils for the laudable purpose of establishing a cochineal manufacture, wasted and destroyed, in the short period of three years, almost all the opuntias of the southern peninsula of India.

Seventy different species of eatable fish, including turtle, are caught on the coast. Yams, potatoes, apples, beef, kid, mutton, and poultry, are good and abundant.

The labour of the fields, fishing, and the menial duties of domestic economy, are assigned to a mixed race of blacks, whose slavery has very lately been entirely abolished. The release of six hundred blacks from a state of thralldom can subtract but little from the guilt of Europe, or the wrongs of Africa ; yet it is consolatory to record even a single act of justice and mercy to an inconsiderable portion of this unhappy race, whom the enormous wickedness of Europeans has dragged from their homes, and condemned to slavery, not for any wrong they ever did us, or for any good we ever mean to do them ; but because our power has unhappily enabled us to make their weakness and sufferings subservient to our avarice.

For the Literary Magazine.

ENGLISH CIVILIANS, OR DOCTORS COMMONS.

FOR a long course of years, the English civilians, or professors of the Roman civil law, did not form a body, but were mingled with the mass of the citizens; and it was not till about the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII, on the proposal of Dr. Richard Bodewell, dean of the arches, that they agreed to dwell in contiguous houses, and to enjoy a community of board. In 1568, Dr. Henry Hervie, dean of the arches, procured from the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, a lease of Mountjoy-House, for the use and accommodation of the advocates. These premises were afterward purchased by the learned body; the prerogative court of Canterbury, that of the bishop of London, and the court of admiralty, were held in them; and they obtained the name of *Doctors Commons*. In 1768, this society received a charter of incorporation, under the style and title of "The College of Doctors of Law, exercent in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Jurisdictions." None are admissible into this body, except persons who have taken the degrees of doctors of law at Oxford or Cambridge; and they become members by a fiat from the archbishop of Canterbury, which, it is understood, will never be granted to persons in holy orders.

Cosin, the coadjutor of Whitgift, in exalting the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and in cashiering nonconformists, Jenkins (sir Leoline), associated with sir William Temple, at Nimeguen, and Davenant, the steady tory, and able political arithmetician, are the names best known among the generations that are past; while those of Wynne, Scott, Nicholl, and Lawrence, stand first among the list of the living. The mediocrity which Gibbon represents as characterising the professors of jurisprudence in ancient Rome seems to adhere to their followers,

the English civilians; their corps seems never to have been illustrated by any individual of transcendent talents.

Members of a limited and controlled jurisdiction, they are viewed with jealousy; their profession is considered as giving them a bias in favour of high ecclesiastical and political notions; and it is a fact that they are never seen on the side of the rights and liberties of the subject, but are found the invariable advocates and supporters of the prerogative. Can these be the reasons why their course does not lead so generally in modern, as in former times, to state honours; and why it is, in this respect, far less favoured than that of the common law?

For the Literary Magazine.

ON SCOTTISH EMIGRATION TO AMERICA, AND LORD SELKIRK'S CANADIAN COLONY.

THE circumstances are very pleasing to which lord Selkirk assigns the origin of his expedition. Without any local connexion with the Highlands, he was led, very early in life, to take a warm interest in the fate of his countrymen in that part of the kingdom. During his academical studies, his curiosity was strongly excited by the representations he heard of the ancient state of society, and the striking peculiarity of manners still remaining among them; and, in the year 1792, he undertook an extensive tour, through their wild region, and explored many of its remotest and most secluded vallies. In the course of this expedition, he ascertained that emigration was an unavoidable result of the general state of the country, arising from causes above all controul, and in itself essential to the tranquillity and permanent welfare of the kingdom. In consequence of this persuasion, that there was no reasonable hope of preventing emigration, he was led to direct

his inquiries to the destination of the various emigrants. He learned that the Highlanders were dispersing to a variety of situations in a foreign land, where they were lost, not only to their native country, but to themselves as a separate people. Admiring many generous and manly features in their character, he could not observe, without regret, the rapid decline of their genuine manners, to which the circumstances of the country seemed inevitably to lead. He thought, however, that a portion of the ancient spirit might be preserved, even in the new world, by collecting the emigrants together in some part of the British colonies; there they would prove a benefit to the mother country; and those peculiarities of customs and language might still be retained, which they are themselves so reluctant to give up, and which are perhaps intimately connected with many of their most striking and characteristic virtues.

In the book which he published in consequence of these inquiries, he has preserved a better picture than has been drawn by any other hand, of a peculiar state of society and manners, highly interesting to the historian.

Not more than sixty years ago, the state of society in the Highlands of Scotland was very similar to that of England before the Norman conquest. Government had not yet extended its regular authority over these mountains, where the chieftains lived in a barbarous independence, surrounded by vassals and retainers. The law was too feeble to afford protection from the violence of feudal warfare and plunder; and every proprietor depended, for his safety and importance, on a numerous train of followers. To this consideration, every pecuniary interest was subordinate; he reckoned the value of his estate, not by the rent, but by the number of men it could send into the field: the rent, in fact, was paid, not in money, but in military service. The small rental of the estates forfeited

in the two rebellions of the last century has, accordingly, been often remarked with surprise; "poor twelve thousand *per annum*," says Penant, "nearly subverted the constitution of these kingdoms:" but, with this narrow income, proprietors of middling rank brought into the field three, four, or five hundred men. Were the present high rents of the same estates to be all laid out in employing labourers, the number of these would not be very different from that of the clans that came from them in arms. Comparing the number of men that particular chiefs could bring out with the present value of their estates, the proportion appears to be, in general, between ten and fifteen pounds for every man: this sum is not far from the yearly expence of a farm servant, at the rate now current in the north of Scotland.

In this state of things, a system of occupancy was spread over the Highlands, which, though now disappearing, remained entire for some time after the last rebellion, and may still be found in many considerable districts. Every proprietor reduced his farms into as small portions as possible; and his design was seconded by the natural inclinations of his people. The state of the country left a father no means of providing for his sons, but by dividing his farm; and where two families could be placed upon the land instead of one, the chief acquired a new tenant and a new soldier. Hence every spot was occupied by as many families as its produce could maintain; and the ground was subdivided into very small possessions.

The farms of the common tenantry, or *small tenants*, are held by joint occupiers, usually six or eight, sometimes many more, and form a sort of hamlets or petty townships. The shares of these partners are of course liable to become unequal, by subdivision or accumulation. The farm is generally a portion of a valley, to which is annexed a tract of mountain pasture, stretching some

miles. The habitations are collected in a village, on the best part of the arable land. This is sometimes cultivated in common, but more usually distributed among the tenants, in proportion to their shares; seldom, however, in a permanent manner, but from year to year. The produce of the tillage land rarely affords aught above the maintenance of the tenants and their families. Their riches consist of cattle, chiefly breeding cows, and the young stock produced from them, which are maintained on the farm till of a proper age for the market; and by the sale of these the tenants are enabled to pay their rent. The number which each farm is capable of maintaining is ascertained by usage, and may be, in general, from thirty to eighty cows, besides other cattle. The total amount is divided among the occupiers, according to their respective shares, no one being allowed to keep more than his due proportion.

Besides these joint occupiers, there are *tacksman* holding entire farms, who are of the rank of gentry, and trace their origin to some ancient proprietor of the estate, who had granted the farm as a provision for one of the younger branches of his family. These, formerly, were nearly on the same footing as proprietors; they were the officers who, under the chief, commanded in the military expeditions of the clan. A part of their farm is sufficient to supply their own families; and they divide the rest among a number of sub-tenants or *cotters*, who are bound to perform a certain quantity of labour upon the farm, instead of paying rent for their small portion of land, and are allowed to pasture their cows with the cattle of the farm.

Cotters are to be found, likewise, on the farms of the small tenants; two or three being generally employed, as servants to the partnership, for herding the cattle.

There are also a few people who exercise the trades of blacksmiths,

weavers, taylors, shoemakers, &c., and bargain with one or other of the tenants for a portion of his land. For, whatever additional employment a man may follow, he must always occupy a small spot of land, to raise provisions for himself and his family; if he cannot procure such a possession, he cannot live in the country. There is no such person known in the Highlands as a mere labourer.

Such a state of property and manners, where every inhabitant is connected with land, where almost all its produce is consumed on the spot, and where there is no distinct separation of employments, has been preserved nearly entire to this day. While the other districts of the island were brought, one after another, within the arrangement of one complex system of production and commerce, the Highlands were cut off from all the contagion of industrious enterprise, by the same rocky barrier which detached them from the jurisdiction of justice and law.

Those barriers were at length broken down, by the measures adopted after the suppression of the rebellion in 1745: the country was disarmed; it was intersected by military roads; a force sufficient to command it was stationed at all the principal passes; and thus the authority of regular government was completely established. The chiefs ceased to be petty monarchs; the services of their followers were no longer requisite for defence, or useful in plunder; and when thus reduced to the same condition with proprietors in other parts of the kingdom, they soon discovered that their rents were far below the real value of their lands. The influence of old habits, of feudal vanity, and of attachment to their vassals, long prevailed over the prospect of pecuniary profit; but the more necessitous or less generous set the example; a generation has succeeded, educated under other circumstances; and the Highland proprietors have now no more scruple, than

those of any other part of the kingdom, in turning their estates to the best advantage.

Had these estates been susceptible of cultivation, under a favourable climate, the proprietors would have found it their interest to clear them of their superfluous population, and to throw their multiplicity of small farms into the hands of one or two farmers of capital and skill. The diminution of cottagers, and other small occupiers of land has, in every part of Europe, been the immediate forerunner of improvement and better cultivation. But the climate of the Highlands is adverse to the production of grain; and that mountainous region contains few mines that can attract knots of population, and is entirely destitute of coal, which might have encouraged the settlement of manufactures.

In such districts, the most profitable employment of land is universally the rearing of young cattle and sheep, which, at a proper age, are bought by farmers in more fertile countries, and fattened for the butcher. A few tracts in the north are adapted to the pasturing of black cattle; but sheep farming must prevail over the range of mountains. The rapid and continual progress which this system is making, the great profits that have been reaped, and the increased rate of rents, sufficiently prove how well it is adapted to the natural circumstances of the Highlands. The few spots among the mountains susceptible of cultivation are advantageously kept in grass, to afford a reserve of pasture and shelter to the flocks during the rigours of winter. A few adventurous individuals, who had been accustomed to sheep-farming in the south of Scotland, saw the vast field which was opened in the Highlands to their capital and enterprise. The large profits which soon rewarded their penetration and perseverance, as in the case of all those who introduce new and successful modes of agriculture, soon attracted others, and demonstrated to the proprietors

themselves the benefits they might earn under this most suitable plan of management.

Such a revolution, however, in the system of landed property must be accompanied by an entire change in the distribution of the inhabitants. The population must be cast into a new form. The class of small tenants will gradually disappear; a distinction will at length take place between the farmer and the labourer; and as many of the cotters as can remain in the country will gradually fall into the various fixed employments that are necessary in the business of an extensive farm. But the whole population on each farm will ultimately be reduced to the number of families that are absolutely required for this necessary business. A few shepherds, with their dogs, will be sufficient for all the work of many an extensive sheep walk. The produce will no longer be consumed wholly on the spot, in affording a scanty subsistence to an indolent contented tribe; but will supply, at a distance, the wasteful luxury of industrious crowds.

During the progress of this change, and the temporary disorder it occasions, much individual distress will unavoidably be suffered. A great part of the inhabitants must, in one way or another, seek for means of livelihood totally different from those on which they have hitherto depended. But the country affords no means of living without possession of land: they must look for resources, therefore, where there is a prospect of employment, and must bring their mind to the resolution of removing at least from their native spot. Two prospects present themselves: in the low country of Scotland, the wages of manufacturing labour; in America, the easy acquisition of land in absolute property. Of these alternatives, it is easy to perceive which will best suit the inclination and habits of the Highlanders. Each of these two changes would exact very nearly the same effort over the natural affections of the mind; but the execution of the

latter plan must be attended with more expence than the other. It will be practicable, therefore, to those only who can afford this expence.

The class of cotters may be distinguished, in this respect, from that of small tenants; though the line is not always exactly defined, some very opulent cotters being as well provided for as the lowest of the tenants; yet there is generally a great difference in the amount of their respective property, and consequently in the views which they entertain after being dispossessed of their land. The cotters have seldom property enough for the necessary expences of emigration, and few of them have ever been able to emigrate: they have, in general, removed into the manufacturing districts of the low country. But the population of the Highlands was chiefly composed of the small tenants; and all of these are possessed of something that might be denominated *capital*. Most of them live much more wretchedly, as to habitation and diet, than the labourers who earn daily wages in other parts of the island; but they have property of greater value. A farmer of about thirty acres of arable land has, perhaps, property to the amount of about one hundred and sixteen pounds sterling, while the annual consumption of provisions for his family and servants does not exceed fifteen pounds. In general, the small tenant, according to his share of the farm, has from three or four to six or eight cows, with the proportionate number of young cattle; he has horses also, a few small sheep, implements of agriculture, and various household articles. By disposing of all this stock, especially if the price of cattle happen to be high, he is enabled to embark in undertakings which cannot be thought of by the cotter, and which are not within the reach of the peasantry, even in the richer and more improved parts of the island.

To those who can thus afford the expences of the passage and first

settlement, the low price of land in America presents the prospect of speedily attaining a situation and mode of life similar to that in which all their habits have been formed. Accustomed to possess land, to derive from it all the comforts they enjoy, to transmit their possessions from father to son, and to cherish all the prejudices of hereditary transmission, they most naturally consider themselves as born to a landed rank, and can form no idea of happiness separate from such a possession. Contrasted with such a situation, that of a day-labourer in a manufacturing town appears contemptible and degrading. It would be a painful change, also, to the practice of sedentary continued labour, from that life of irregular exertions, and long intervals of indolence, in which the Highlander enjoys almost the freedom of a savage. A temporary effort will carry his family across the Atlantic; and whether he prefers this, or goes into the low country, he is forced to a change; his habits are broken; he must form himself to a new mode of life. Whether he shall enter upon one to which all his feelings are repugnant, or, by some exertion of courage, economy, and foresight, regain a prouder and more secure independence, is an alternative in which his choice will assuredly be determined by his ability.

By their ability or inability to afford the expences of their passage to America, the choice of the Highlanders, with a very few exceptions, has been entirely regulated. Even among those whose poverty forced them to go at first into the manufacturing towns, some of the most remarkable exertions of industry have been prompted, only by the desire of accumulating as much money as might enable them to join their friends beyond the Atlantic.

Thus it appears, that in the subversion of the feudal economy, and the gradual extension of the commercial system over that quarter of the island, emigration forms a necessary part of the general change.

The race of cotters, after filling up the demand for menial labour that is still required under the new arrangement, withdraw into the manufacturing districts. A few of the small tenants, who, with some amount of capital, combine industry and good management, take a part in this new system, and grow up into farmers on a greater scale; but the rest of this class will be gradually and entirely drained off by emigration. And, in this manner, the commercial form of property and population will at length be fully established in the Highlands, and the peasantry placed in that relative station, which is best adapted to the purposes of national wealth. Emigration is one of the results or necessary conditions of this change, and which cannot be abstracted from its other concomitant effects.

There is some reason to believe, that, while emigration produces this necessary change in the character and composition of the people, it does not ultimately reduce their numbers, even in the Highlands. A place, for example, has been pointed out on the west coast, which, in 1790, contained 1900 inhabitants, of whom 500 emigrated the same year to America; in 1801, the same spot contained 1967, though it had furnished 87 men for the army and navy, and not a single stranger had settled in it.

There is no part of the Highlands where the people have so strong a spirit of emigration as in Long Island, yet 5268, in 1755, was found increased to 8308 in 1792.

Emigrations from the Isle of Sky to North Carolina have continued to a great extent since 1770: to the amount of 4000, it has been computed, prior to 1791, besides an equal number that has come into the low country; in 1755, this island contained 11,252 inhabitants; and, in 1792, it contained 14,470. That emigration does not necessarily imply a permanent diminution of local numbers, but, on the contrary, may leave resources for a larger increase of a different sort of inhabitants, is

admitted by all who are acquainted with the theory of population.

Even if the depopulation of the Highlands were proved, we ought to judge of the whole effect, by taking the whole kingdom into view. The produce raised on the mountains, under the grazing system, is assuredly not less than it was formerly, though it is not consumed on the spot. Without doubt, indeed, it is greatly augmented under the improved management. The diminution of tillage must be deducted from the whole increase of pasturage produce; but the tillage that is retained is of a much superior kind; and the introduction of pasture and the breeding system on the mountains will leave free for an extended tillage those arable plains of the south, which have been hitherto kept in grass for that purpose. The various climates, and all the different levels of the island, are thus formed into one connected plan of rural economy, distributing its produce through the whole national family.

Independently of emigration, the circumstances no longer exist which formerly rendered the Highlands such a nursery of soldiers. Wherever the system of numerous dependants and very low rents was still adhered to, the chieftain had a double hold of the service of his tenantry, by their affections to the clan, and by his power of dispossessing them of their farms. The best tenants were therefore the first to bring forward their sons, when the landlord undertook to raise men for the army. A body of men, so composed, was undoubtedly much superior to a regiment recruited in the ordinary manner; both by the hardihood of the breed, and much more by the feudal feelings of reverence for their officers, pride in their clan, and attachment to each other. But as soon as the feudal state of the country was supplanted by another system, these peculiarities vanished. The low rent of land was the whole foundation on which they rested. When the chieftain exacts its full value, the relation between him and his

tenants is the same as that of a landlord in any other part of the kingdom. The Highland regiments, accordingly, have been approaching, in their composition and character, to a similarity with the other regiments in the service, ever since rents began much to increase. We must go back to the seven years war to find those regiments in their original purity, formed entirely on the feudal principle, and raised in the manner above described.

Even as early as in the American war, some tendency towards a different system was observable; and, during the subsequent war, many regiments were merely Highland in name. Some corps were composed nearly in the ancient manner; but there were others, in which few of the men had any connexion whatever with the estates of their officers, being recruited, in the ordinary manner, at Glasgow and other manufacturing places, and consisting of all sorts of men, Lowlanders and Irish, as well as Highlanders.

From these views it follows, that all direct restrictions on emigration by law are no better than violent injustice. The removal of people from the country is a temporary loss, unquestionably, to the public, but one which accompanies the progress of general opulence, the extended establishment of protecting laws, and the consequent amelioration of property and produce. Those who are themselves under no necessity of seeking another home, always look on emigration itself as the evil that is mixed with these confessed advantages; and they regard it as an evil, only because they imagine its consequences may possibly somehow or other impair their own security and ease. They do not perceive that the real evil, occasioned by the general progress, when it suddenly takes a new course, is the disturbance and dispossession of a class of citizens, quite as important and deserving as themselves; quite as desirous, too, of enjoying unimpaired security and ease; but whose habits and attach-

ments are swept away for a sacrifice to the general wealth. Emigration is not the evil, but the remedy; the sad, but single resource of those by whom the real evil is suffered. It can never repair it to them, but inadequately; and it requires such a conquest over the strongest prejudices of the heart, that only the last necessity can inspire sufficient resolution. The family of an hereditary farmer, which for ages has been fastening innumerable roots into the spot on which it grew, may be torn up by force; but when cast out from its native earth, will seek for some other soil that is most nearly congenial.

The undertaking of great public works in the north, the cultivation of waste lands, the encouragement of the fisheries, and the introduction of manufactures, have been considered by many benevolent and public-spirited persons as appropriate remedies and preventives of emigration. But not one of them is adapted to the circumstances of those who are inclined and can afford to emigrate. The cultivation of waste land appears a promising scheme, only while we forget the soil, climate, and tenures of the Highlanders; and the attempts of this kind hitherto made prove only, that, if properly conducted, it might retain, a sufficient number of poor cotters to supply the country fully with day-labourers, but could never be rendered acceptable to *tenants* even of the lowest order. As to new public works, such as the Caledonian canal and the Highland roads and bridges, they may give temporary relief to some of the peasantry, by bringing employment a little nearer than when it was to be sought in the low country: but even the peasant must quit his residence, though not go quite so far, to procure this temporary employment; and the tenant, who has been deprived of his land, will still have the option suggested to him of removing into another part of the country to earn wages as a labourer, or into another country where he

may become again a possessor of land.

The fisheries might, if freed from the obstacles by which they are at present discouraged, afford employment to a considerable number of the poorer people. And a general change in the management of the Highland estates is likely to remove that connexion between fishing and the cultivation of land, which has been the greatest impediment to the progress of the fisheries on the western coast and isles. The introduction of manufactures, if practicable, would supply no object of suitable employment to the displaced tenants.

All these schemes imply that the disposition to emigrate arises from unalterable causes, and that it must take its course in the mean while, though we may endeavour to attract the displaced population into new channels of industry at home. They are dictated by motives of patriotism, but are never likely to be so contrived as to render them really preventive of the evil.

There are some proprietors who would willingly profit by the great advance of rents, and at the same time retain the facility of raising a regiment; who like to receive the income of a sheep-farm, to spend in the metropolis, and would still find the splendour of many feudal dependants in the country. These active and most useful depopulators are sometimes found very indignant declaimers against emigration. From them, their factors, and their neighbours, who conceive themselves to have an interest in a crowded population, on account of the low wages for which they can then manufacture their kelp, and carry on a few petty branches of traffic, we often hear clamours, as if emigration were a new species of sedition, and it were the duty of the legislature to suppress it by penal laws.

During Addington's ministry, an act was passed for regulating the transportation of the emigrants; and the professed object was to enforce a due care of the lives and health of the passengers, and to prevent an

undue profit, on the part of the owner of the vessel, by crowding it too much. For this purpose, the statute enacts, that no ship shall carry a greater number of persons than in the proportion of one passenger for every two ton; and that every passenger shall be obliged to take 3 1-2 pounds of beef or pork weekly, besides a large allowance of farinaceous food, and that they themselves shall not be at liberty to dispense with any part of this. This law is liable to some exception.

In the first place, the allowance of room, which is required as absolutely necessary for the health of the passengers, is nearly double that of the transport service; for 1 1-2 ton, allotted for full grown men, is little more than half as much as two tons, allotted for passengers of all ages. The emigrants themselves, in the allowance of birth-room, usually observed a rule, which had been the result of experience, that their whole number, including infants, might be reckoned equivalent to two-thirds of that number of grown persons. They might have been safely left to their own experience in this particular. But, in the second place, the quantity of provisions indispensably forced upon them is beyond all reasonable proportion; the allowance of bread alone exceeds the entire consumption of country labourers in any part of Scotland; and so large an allowance of butcher's meat as 3 1-2 pounds for every passenger, even for infants at the breast, must appear strange to those who know that, among the small farmers, there is not five pounds of meat consumed in the family throughout the year. And yet the Highland Society, in their instructions for the framing of this act, recommended seven pounds a week as necessary for every passenger.

The real purpose of the law was to enhance the expence of the voyage, and so render it less within the means of the poor tenants. In the real operation of the act, however, the difference of expence has no other effect than to encroach on the

little stock of cash collected by the emigrants from the sale of their property, and to land them on a foreign shore worse provided for their new exertions.

Since emigration must go on from the Highlands till all the small tenants are drained off, it must be desirable that the overflowings of the nation's population should contribute to the strength and improvement of its own colonies. But from circumstances accidental at first, and perpetuated by the natural disposition of the emigrants to follow their relations and friends where almost another home was already formed, most of the emigrants settle in the United States. Different districts of the Highlands have different corresponding settlements, to which their emigrants resort. The people in each district have a tolerably accurate knowledge of some particular settlement, where their own connections have gone; for the Highlanders distrust all information about America that does not come from their own immediate connections; and, in a mountainous country, intelligence spreads far beyond the valley where it is first received. Of every settlement but their own, the people of each district are usually quite ignorant, or entertain very mistaken notions; and, in particular, those whose views have been directed to the southern states, have received very gloomy impressions of the climate of Canada and the northern colonies.

In lord Selkirk's apprehension, the importance of securing these emigrants to the British colonies, instead of abandoning them to a foreign country, is rendered more urgent by the peculiar situation of their northern colonies in America. In some of them settlers of by no means a desirable character have intruded themselves, and are fast approaching to a majority of numbers. Nothing would seem more expedient, therefore, for the preservation of these colonies to the mother country, than that a strong barrier should be formed, against the con-

tagion of American sentiments, by a body of settlers whose manners and language are distinct, and who inherit ancient feelings of loyalty and military valour.

In order to induce the Highlanders to change the course of their emigrations, some strong encouragement, in lord Selkirk's opinion, ought to be held out by government. The encouragement must be sufficient to induce a considerable body of people, connected by the ties of blood and friendship, to try a new situation; and if such a settlement were once conducted through its first difficulties, till the adventurers felt confidence in their resources, the end might be accomplished. The inducements need not be continued longer than this. But they ought to be such as to suit those who are fettered by their poverty. This might be done without increasing the spirit of emigration, or, rather, on the principles of human nature, it could not be done in such a way as to increase that spirit in the least.

These views presented themselves to lord Selkirk, upon the eve of the first French war. The events that followed precluded all active prosecution of them; but their importance remained deeply impressed on his mind, and their practicability was confirmed by all his maturer reflections. On the return of peace, the emigrations were recommenced with a spirit more determined and more widely diffused than on any former occasion. All his views recurred upon him, and prompted him to represent to some members of the government the necessity of interference, in order to attract the emigrants to the British colonies. This representation was fruitless.

Unwilling to abandon the object altogether, lord Selkirk considered how far it was possible for him, as an individual, to effect it on a more limited scale. Under the assurance of a grant of waste lands belonging to the crown, on such terms as promised an adequate return for the unavoidable expences of the undertaking, he resolved, at his own risk,

to try the experiment, and to engage some of the emigrants, who were preparing to go to the United States, to change their destination. He was informed that it would be more satisfactory to government, if the people he engaged were to settle in a maritime situation, instead of that which he had at first in view. Though by no means pleased with this hint, he felt it his duty to acquiesce, and determined on making his settlement in Prince Edward's Island, in the gulph of St. Lawrence. To give the experiment a fair prospect of success, he yielded to the necessity of attending the colonists himself.

The candour with which the first obstacles are described by the author of this project, the practical and profound judgment with which the various means and arrangements appear to have been combined, and that tone of benevolence, without ostentation, and yet thoroughly systematic, which pervades the whole design, renders it the most pleasing and most useful history that has been given to the world of the establishment of a new colony.

His settlers, in number eight hundred persons of all ages, reached Prince Edward's Island in August, 1803; and the spot selected on this coast for the principal establishment was almost desert, being separated by an arm of the sea, and an interval of several miles, from any older settlement. Before the middle of September, the people were dispersed on their separate lots, and began the cultivation of their farms. The lots were laid out in such a manner that four or five families built their houses in a little knot together; the distance between the adjacent hamlets seldom exceeding a mile. This social plan of settlement, besides other advantages to recommend it, resembled their style of living in their native country. They were allowed to purchase in fee-simple, and, to a certain extent, on credit; from fifty to a hundred acres were allotted to each family at a moderate price, but none was given gratuitously. To accommo-

date those who had no superfluous capital, they were not required to pay the price in full till the third or fourth year of their possession; and, in this time, an industrious man may have it in his power to discharge his debt out of the produce of the land. The same principle was adhered to in the distribution of provisions; though several of the poorer settlers could not go on without support, every assistance they received was as a loan, under strict obligations of repayment with interest.

They formed their first houses on the model of those of the American woodsmen. Before the winter set in, they had not only lodged themselves, but made some progress in cutting down the trees; and, on the opening of the spring, the land was finally prepared for the seed. In September, however, lord Selkirk quitted the island, leaving the settlement under the charge of a faithful agent, and did not return to it till the end of the same month in the following year. He found the settlers then engaged in securing their harvest; their crop of potatoes alone would have been sufficient for their entire support. Round the different hamlets, the extent of land in cultivation was, at an average, in the proportion of two acres to each able working hand. And several boats had been built, by means of which a considerable supply of fish had been obtained. In the whole settlement he met but two men who showed the least appearance of despondency.

The further progress of these colonists is now to be left to their own guidance. Most of them have already proceeded to improve the construction of their houses, less, perhaps, from a personal desire of better accommodation than from that pride of landed property which is natural to the human breast, and which, though repressed among the Highland tenantry by recent circumstances, is ready to resume its spring as soon as their situation will permit. Lord Selkirk concludes

with observing, that no farther doubt can now be entertained of the practicability of inducing the Highlanders to emigrate to a British colony : and he flatters himself, with great justice, that no immaterial progress has already been made towards this object.

For the Literary Magazine.

ON THE COINS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Concluded from page 391.

AS the precious metals vary continually in their relative value at the bullion market, the coins, or those metals in a manufactured state, must likewise change continually in their proportions to each other. If gold bullion be fifteen times dearer than silver bullion to-day, and the former is coined according to that proportion, into guineas, of twenty shillings value : to-morrow, when gold may be sixteen times dearer than silver, the guinea must be worth more than twenty shillings. The merchant who agreed to pay a hundred of those guineas, and would have performed his contract as readily in gold as in silver, had the relative value of the metals remained stationary, will now gain by paying in silver on the former footing, and his creditors will lose in proportion. Therefore, when they bargained about a hundred guineas, they must have meant either gold or silver money, or some other money, valued at a known rate, and not any of those metals indifferently. In one case, they used a definite and fixed, in the other, a variable and uncertain language. No man will bargain to be paid for his labour in so much West India produce, generally, unless he means to receive the cheapest kind, and to take his chance of all changes of price to the term of payment : and if a hogshead of sugar were worth two hogsheads of rum at

the time of contracting, and then rose to three hogsheads ; should he bargain to be paid a hogshead of sugar, or its value in rum, he would naturally demand three hogsheads of rum, and not two, if his debtor refused to pay in sugar. There is, indeed, one variation inseparable from all such measures of value. Though the coin be made only of a single metal, its relative value to other commodities must vary from time to time ; but, by introducing two metals, and fixing their rates at the mint, a new sort of uncertainty is added ; and beside the variations of either metal in respect to other commodities, we are encumbered with their variations in respect to each other. We, in fact, give a double meaning to the words expressing sums of money of account. The two meanings may coincide at the moment the rate is established ; but they will very soon change, and keep always varying to a greater or less distance from each other. If, after a relative value has been affixed to gold and silver at the mint, and both coins have been declared legal tender according to this rate, a change takes place in their relative market prices, then the coins of the metals which are dearer in the market than at the mint will disappear ; they will be melted down, in order to be sold at the market price for the other metal. When both coins are legal tender, no man will pay his debts in the metal which is undervalued ; because, by doing so, he would lose the difference between the mint price and the market price of that metal, estimated in terms of the other. Thus a change in the relative market prices of the precious metals always causes one of them almost entirely to disappear from circulation ; and this must ever continue to happen, so long as government fixes the rates at which those metals, when coined, shall be exchanged for each other.

Lord Liverpool endeavours to demonstrate, that gold coin is now, in England, the measure of property. In order to make out this point, he

first takes a view of the law respecting tenders of payment. Immediately on the introduction of gold coins, in the reign of Henry III, they were made legal tender equally with silver, at the rate established in the mint indentures. Henry III, finding the people averse to the innovation, ordered the new coins only to be taken at the option of the receiver; and on this footing they remained, if they continued at all in circulation, till the 19th of Edward III. They have since been legal tender at the mint rate, till 15th Charles II; and from that year to the 3d George I, at any rate above a certain *minimum* fixed by law. They were then once more made legal tender at a fixed rate, equally with silver; and, in the 14th of the king, the silver coins were made legal tender for sums above twenty-five pounds, only according to their weight, at 5s. 2d. an ounce. This regulation was renewed in 1798, and continues in force.

The copper coins are only legal tender for sums not exceeding a shilling; some of them only for sums not exceeding sixpence. The statutes which limit the sum for which silver coin shall be legal tender by no means enact that silver itself shall not be legal tender to any amount. Silver coin, in fact, is still legal tender for all sums, only not by tale; and it cannot even be said to pass as bullion; for the price at which it shall be received is specified, and not left to the market standard. An ounce of this coin is to pass for the nominal sum of 5s. 2d., or for a quarter of a guinea wanting 1-252 of a guinea.

We have already traced the change which happened about the beginning of the last century, in the customs and opinions of the community regarding coins. Partly from that circumstance, and partly from over-valuation of the guinea in 1717, which soon banished the greater part of the silver coin from circulation, the gold currency has, for a hundred years past, formed the great bulk of

the specie, and regulated all the rest.

Before the recoinage of king William's reign, the defective state of the silver coins produced the utmost inconvenience. All prices were raised, and a guinea sold for thirty shillings. Now, when the silver is as defective as it was then, prices are not at all affected by its deficiency, and the value of the guinea suffers no change.

Before the recoinage of king William, foreign exchange was kept constantly at least 20 *per cent.* against Great Britain, by the state of the silver. Nothing of this kind has happened in consequence of the present imperfections of the silver coin, though, before the recoinage of 1774, the deficiency of the gold coins constantly and materially influenced the rate of exchange. In like manner, the price of both gold and silver bullion has been regulated by the state, not of the silver, but of the gold coins. It never was affected by the deficiency of the former; but it rose when the latter were defective, and fell again after the last recoinage. Thus it appears, that not only the people of Great Britain, but the merchants of foreign nations who have any intercourse with them, and even those who deal in the precious metals of which their coins are made, concur in opinion, that the gold coins are now the principal measure of property in that kingdom.

This change may flow from the increased affluence and commercial prosperity of the country: in the early and less wealthy stages of society, copper coins alone are known; by degrees silver is introduced, and, as mercantile transactions become more frequent and important, silver coins of a greater value are used; gold then takes its place; and even this precious metal being found burthensome for constant use, in the most refined state of commerce, a substitute is provided by the invention of paper credit.

The history of the English specie

throws great light on this view of the subject. At the conquest, the value of silver, compared with other commodities, was not much less than that of gold at present. Commodities have since risen to fifteen times their nominal silver price in that early period. Hence we may infer, that there was nearly the same difference between goods and silver then, as between silver and gold now. The rise of fifteen times, however, includes the alteration in the real value of the currency, and therefore the intrinsic value of silver was only *five* times greater than it is now. But this difference is sufficient to illustrate the connection between the progress of wealth and the change of the currency, and to show that a gold circulation is not much more costly now than a circulation of silver was formerly.

But, not only has the gold coin become in fact the circulating medium, and for that reason deserves to be retained in the same function; there is another point in which it possesses a pre-eminence over silver coin as a measure of property: its value is much less liable to variation. The bank of England has purchased gold during twenty years, ending 1797, with no more than a half *per cent.* variation of price at any time. Gold purchased with, or sold for bank notes, has varied, during 40 years, no more than 5 1-2 *per cent.* in the London market; while silver exchanged for the same article has varied, in 10 years, ending 1793, more than 19 1-4 *per cent.* The price of dollars varied, during 41 years, ending 1796, nearly 16 1-5 *per cent.*, and during 22 years, ending 1797, nearly 12 *per cent.* Whence we may infer, that gold varies a great deal less in its price from time to time than silver, and is on this account the most proper of the precious metals for a standard of value and instrument of commerce, and that the others should only be used in exchanges below the value of the gold currency.

In this detail of lord Liverpool there seems to be a material error. When the bank purchased gold bul-

lion, it must have paid for it either in silver or in notes, or in some other kind of paper currency or stock. If the equivalent was silver, then the variation in the price of that metal was the very same with the variation in the price of gold. Consequently in saying that gold varied only one half *per cent.* in its value during twenty years, we mean equally that silver varied no more during the same period, or that the relative values of the two metals continued steadily within those limits. If the gold was bought with notes or any other paper currency, it is clear that, previous to the restriction, and the statement refers to twenty years before 1797, the paper medium was altogether regulated by the specie, either gold or silver, for which it was exchangeable, but principally by the gold; and as long as it continued easily exchangeable for gold, its price could never vary considerably from the price of that coin; therefore the price of gold bullion, estimated in paper currency, must have been always, in those circumstances, nearly the same, being in truth the price of gold bullion estimated in gold coin: and, so far as the paper may be supposed to have been influenced by the silver currency, the former argument applies. As for any kind of stock in which the bank may have paid for gold, its value is always resolvable into specie or paper: whence we may infer, that the stationary rate of the bank prices of gold proves only, either that the gold coin and gold bullion kept nearly equal in value, as must always happen, or that the silver varied as little in price as the gold.

It was found that gold bought with bank notes varied only 5 1-2 *per cent.* during forty years; whereas silver, purchased in the same way, varied 19 1-4 *per cent.* during ten years. The forty years must have included a period of twenty-one years before the recoinage of gold in 1774, for it was forty years ending 1793. This variation of 5 1-2 *per cent.* in the paper price of gold, then, only shows, either that the paper

was affected by the state of the gold coin at that time, or, in general, that the circulation was not so little influenced by the silver as it has been since. But when we are told that the paper price of silver varied 19 1-4 *per cent.* during ten years, ending 1793, while the paper was entirely regulated by the gold currency, we are told at the same time that the gold varied precisely as much in its silver price. And so of the statement regarding the price of dollars from 1774 to 1797: it must either have been paid in paper or gold. It is singular that an acute observer did not consider, that in stating the accounts of the purchasers of silver bullion, he was always stating at the same time the accounts of the sellers of gold, or of that which is regulated by the gold coin; and that a person could not buy silver much dearer or cheaper than formerly, unless another person at the same time bought gold, or the representative of gold, at a price equally different from its former price. It is manifest, then, that there is no superior steadiness in gold. The bank directors, indeed, are said to keep its price somewhat more on a level, by their rule of only purchasing at a certain price; but if the proportion between the supply and the demand were to vary considerably, this rule must be broken through. Then the price of gold might be said to vary; and the same might be said of the silver given for it. The ease with which the bank has maintained its rule in ordinary times may prove that the proportion between the supply and demand of gold, or its real price, has been steady; and the same may be affirmed of the real price of the silver given for it. No account stated between the two metals can ever prove any thing respecting either exclusively. We must have a comparison instituted between the relative value of silver and corn, for example, as well as between silver and gold, or paper, in order to prove that the one metal has fluctuated in price more than the other.

It may be thought, that certain general considerations furnish a safer criterion for determining the question; as, the greater use of silver in manufactures, and its annual exportation to the east, which tend to make it more an article of commerce than gold. But, in proportion as any article is much used in commerce, the supply is always more likely to accommodate itself to the demand, and to retain that proportion. The supply of the silver mines is probably much more constant than that of the gold; because the silver ore is disposed in larger veins, varying little in richness; and the gold, chiefly found in a virgin state, is scattered up and down in sand, or masses of clay, where it is found by a kind of random search; it is, in fact, less the produce of regular industry than any other metal. But, besides this difference, the demand for silver is peculiarly constant. Not only is there a regular exportation carried to the east, but the money of most countries is made of this metal. Except England and Portugal, by far the greatest part of the specie in European markets consists of silver coin. These circumstances, therefore, render silver a more steady measure of value than gold. Within the last ten or twelve years, indeed, the value of silver has been falling considerably. There is scarce any other mode of explaining the universal, and, in general, proportionate rise in the money price of commodities; and, no doubt, the improvements which have been introduced into the Spanish American mines may solve this problem. But if the supply of silver has thus exceeded the demand for it, a great quantity of gold has, within the same time, been thrown loose, by means of the increased paper currency of England, which had formerly absorbed the greatest portion of that metal; and this has certainly prevented any rise in the silver price of gold, or any greater fluctuation in the price of silver, than in that of the more costly metal. On the

whole, there is no reason to conclude, that gold is a better standard of comparison than silver, for the estimation of other commodities, in consequence of its superior steadiness of price; and, if there is any difference in this respect, it is in favour of silver.

Lord Liverpool, in his plan for reforming the monetary system, thinks that the gold coin should be kept as perfect as possible, and be made at the public expence, without any charge in the manner of a *brassage*; much less with any deduction for *seignorage*. The silver coins, on the contrary, should pay the charges of manufacture; they should only be a legal tender as change for single pieces of the gold coin; and the copper should bear the same relation to the silver. The inferior coins ought to be regulated by the relative value of the metals of which they are made to gold, obtained from a comparison of many years, and of the bullion prices in foreign countries, as well as at home. But it is strongly maintained, that this value should be fixed at the mint, and not left to the regulation of the market, partly because persons residing at a distance from the bullion market, and, in general, the poorer orders, must be ignorant of the changes in the relative value of the precious metals, partly because allowing the comparative prices of the coins to be fixed in the market is contrary to law, and is transferring the right of setting a rate or value on the coins from the sovereign to individuals. In adjusting the rate at the mint, he conceives that the present denominations and nominal proportions should be retained, but that any alteration which the real market price of the metals may render proper, should be effected by a change in the weight of the new silver coin.

The amount of the gold in circulation he computes from the returns of coinage since 1774, and from certain general considerations relative to the increased trade of the country. There were recoined, at that time,

nearly twenty millions and a half, and five millions might remain in currency. Since that time upwards of 36 millions have been coined, of which above 18,700,000 were of gold recoined from having become deficient; of the remaining 17,500,000 he estimates, that only four millions and a half have been clear addition to the gold coinage as it stood immediately after 1777; the rest of the bullion, he thinks, was English guineas exported and brought back; so that he estimates the quantity of gold coins now in the king's dominions at more than thirty millions, nominal value.

This amount will appear quite incredible to those who consider the changes that the new system of paper credit has introduced into the circulation; that the number of country banks has increased, within eight years, from 230 to 517; that the issues of bank paper in England, and still more in Ireland, have been altogether unexampled; that country bankers' notes have confined the circulation of the London and Dublin bank notes almost entirely to those two cities; that country bankers are only obliged to pay in bank paper, and the great banks themselves are absolved from paying at all; that no material difference has arisen between the commodity price of paper currency and that of gold, the only means by which any considerable quantity of the latter could have been retained in circulation under all the foregoing circumstances; most enquirers will be disposed to rate the amount at less than even one million. The cash paid by London bankers does not in some cases exceed a thirtieth, in others a fortieth, and in others a hundred and fortieth, of what they pay in notes; and, in many parts of the kingdom, guineas are scarcely ever seen.

The art of assaying, as practised at the mint, is most accurately carried on, and both the weight and standard of our gold are kept nearly perfect. In several trials of the *pix*, made upon issues of twenty-eight

millions, no deviation has been detected in the standard, and not above four grains in the weight. The admirable experiments of Messrs. Cavendish and Hatchett proved that the nature of the alloy at present in use was, if not the best, at least very nearly so. The British silver now in circulation cannot exceed four millions in nominal value, and is probably much less. The deficiency of these coins in weight is very considerable. In 1798, it amounted to 3 1-5 *per cent* in crowns, 9 1-11 in half-crowns, 24 1-2 in shillings, and 38 1-4 in sixpences; in 1787, it was smaller, and has therefore, in all probability, increased since 1798. Yet so great is the demand for these coins, that a premium is sometimes given for them above their nominal value. What compensation should be made to the holders of the clipped silver, on a recoinage, cannot be stated, but in general a small relief would be sufficient. Any large compensation, such as was made in king William's time, would not only cost a great sum to the public, but be a powerful encouragement to coiners of base metal, and clippers of the lawful coin.

The amount of copper coins in circulation may be from half a million to 550,000 nominal value; and the counterfeits amount to a much greater sum: so great is the deficiency of that coin for the purposes of the retail trade!

Before a recoinage can be had, some alterations must be made in the mint. The standard requires no improvement, and the alloy is sufficient. The machinery, however is very faulty. While the greatest progress has been making in every mechanical contrivance used by private persons, and especially in stamping and coining, the machinery of the mint alone moves on in the old and clumsy fashion, and fulfils the common fate of public manufactories, of remaining stationary in the midst of universal improvement. Boulton's admirable machinery, which foreign states have been eager to adopt, would both in-

crease the beauty and accuracy of the money, and effect a recoinage with at least tenfold dispatch.

When the coinage is placed on a proper footing, such measures will be necessary as shall prevent the practices of clippers, and other unfair dealers in the precious metals. The low profits on which these persons will trade is shown by sir Isaac Newton, in his report of 1717. It appears that the louis-d'or was brought into general circulation in king William's reign, from being rated at 5½d. above its real value, compared with British coins; and that a similar profit of 5d. on the moidore inundated the west of England with those pieces. The louis-d'ors were utterly banished from circulation, by being decried to three farthings below their real value, and the moidores by being brought to one penny below that value.

Where men will trade on such slender gains, it is scarcely possible to prevent their tampering with the coin. The only remedy consists in some regulations for constantly weighing the currency given in payments. At an early period, when the pounds by weight and by tale coincided, a method of this sort was adopted for keeping the money entire. The *compensatio ad pensum* was only a practice of receiving specie by weight, when the currency had become debased; and the *compensatio ad scalam* was a certain general allowance made without weighing, in consideration of the damage sustained by the currency, calculated on an average. Afterwards, laws were made for preventing the circulation of money that had suffered more than a certain diminution by wear, and for enforcing the weighing of coins received in payment. This was generally denominated *reasonable wear*, and left to be determined by the magistrate of the district. But, in 1776, a more definite rule was fixed by proclamation, declaring that the guinea should not pass, if it weighed less than 5 gr. 8 dwt.; the half-guinea, 2 gr. 16 dwt.; and so of the other coins

in proportion. This regulation has certainly not been duly enforced at the great public offices where specie is received and paid out in the greatest quantities, and its good tendency has, therefore, been defeated. But lord Liverpool thinks it the only unexceptionable remedy for the evil, by affording a constant check to the arts of those who tamper with the specie of the country, and by causing a gradual renewal of the coins as they are worn in circulation. He conceives, too, that an allowance, like the ancient *compensatio*, might be made for coins much worn; two-pence might be deducted for every grain which the gold coin wanted, and so in proportion for silver, a *minimum* being fixed, below which neither should be current at all. This mode would remove the necessity of too frequent a recoinage, and prevent the extreme degradation of specie.

Lord Liverpool condemns the present extent of paper currency, which has almost banished the precious metals from all retail trade. He particularly condemns the currency of the country banks. The former interfere most with the coins of the realm; and as the latter only pass within particular districts, a person cannot travel through different parts of the kingdom without changing his money several times over. Nor has the market price of bullion fallen in consequence of the coin being thrown out of circulation; it has, on the contrary, risen considerably above the mint price; and thus all influx of bullion into the mint has necessarily been stopped. Now the bank of England is the great repository of unemployed cash, and must always be called upon for supplies when the failures of private bankers, or other causes, contract the circulation. It is thereby responsible not only for the value of its own notes, but, in a certain degree, for such as may be issued by every private banker in the kingdom, let the substance, credit, or discretion of such a banker be what it may. But when the market price of gold

is so much higher than its mint price, the bank cannot afford to purchase that metal for coinage; and if it could, whatever was coined would be melted again; so that, till this evil is remedied, the bank cannot safely resume its cash payments. And lord Liverpool confirms his unfavourable view of country banks, and the excess of the present paper currency, by a sketch of the history of paper credit, in the whole of which he can find nothing at all resembling it, not even in the late history of France; for there the government, or the great corporate bodies of the state, and not private individuals, issued the new paper money. He thinks that the legislature should interfere, and that the reform of the coinage can never be completely effected till some check is given to the traffic of the country banks.

Considering the mere terms of modern contracts, it appears that silver is the universal money or medium of exchange, and is taken as the common standard in all estimates of comparative value. He who promises to pay so many pounds, or livres, promises a certain quantity of precious metal, in the words which once signified that precise weight of silver, when no other precious metals were in use, but custom or law has since caused it to mean, indiscriminately, a much smaller weight of silver, or a certain weight of gold. Thus, too, a Roman would promise to pay so many pounds of copper, the only commodity that originally he could exchange, when, in fact, he meant to promise those substitutes which the increased wealth and varying institutions of the state had provided for it. The words used to denote pecuniary value are retained from the commodity of which money was first made. What new meanings time gives them depends altogether on the change of circumstances. These must determine as well the quality as the quantity of the commodity really expressed by the antiquated terms. Since Mr. Locke wrote,

certain events have almost banished silver from the circulation of Britain, and substituted gold in its place. But, though people still contract to pay pounds sterling, they merely bind themselves to pay optionally either so much silver, or its value in gold, at a rate fixed and known at the time of making the bargain. The proportion between the supply of and demand for gold, too, will regulate the price of that article, and fix the real value of the money mentioned in the contract, more or less exclusively as it may happen more or less completely to usurp the place of silver in the currency; and thus, in bargaining nominally for silver, the seller will have the real value of gold only, or even of bank paper, in his eye, knowing that his price will be paid in that form.

There are, however, some occasions on which the new names are used in contracting or in keeping accounts. All gambling transactions are stated in guineas, and so are many contracts of insurance; nay, in some parts of the country, particularly in Scotland, where bank paper has long formed the bulk of the currency, the lower people are accustomed to reckon in *notes*, meaning *pounds*. In these cases, the money of account coincides with the medium actually circulating. Yet still he who promised to pay twenty guineas may perform his contract by giving twenty-one pounds in silver; and he who promises twenty-one *notes* finds his creditor very ready to accept twenty guineas. It is, therefore, indifferent in what language bargains are made and accounts kept, provided the terms used are always defined. While there is a double circulation in a country, when we talk of one metal, we in truth mean either of the two at a known relative valuation fixed by law, or settled in the market; and when we call one of them the measure of property, we only mean, that the other having nearly disappeared from the circulation, the real price of the one which remains is

alone attended to in all contracts. If both continue in circulation, they are both measures and standards. Each may be compared with all other commodities, and both may be compared together. The value of either may thus be measured by the other; and the value of ordinary property may be measured in either, or in terms applicable to both. A guinea is equal in value to twenty-one shillings; and a certain quantity of wheat is equal in value to twenty shillings, or to 20-21 of a guinea, or to a pound, which, though it signified only so much silver, now signifies indifferently twenty shillings, or 20-21 of a guinea, or, finally, a piece of paper equivalent to either.

When the comparative value of the precious metals is constantly varying, the government will in vain attempt to regulate their relative prices by any mint arrangements, or public laws. Admitting, what the whole history of the coinage proves to be impracticable, that, at the moment of coining, we should be able accurately to adjust those prices according to the market rates, in a short time these will vary; one of the metals will be overvalued, and the coins of the other will of course be driven out of circulation. Experience proves the folly of attempting to follow the changes of the bullion market, and how much better it would be to save at once the double expence of coining in two metals, than to coin in such a manner as must ensure the speedy banishment of one of them. By fixing the relative mint prices of the precious metals, and fixing them wrong, which is almost the same thing, we have lost the benefits of a double circulation, and acquired our present silver currency. While this *practice* continues, we can no more expect to see silver carried to the mint, or retained in circulation after government has coined it, than we could hope for a supply of foreign wheat, were we on the same principle to fix its price below the level of the home market.

It is unnecessary to fix the rela-

tive prices of gold and silver, under pretence that the lower orders, and especially those residing in distant parts of the country, cannot possibly know the variations of the bullion market; for the bullion market exists every where, and all men are traders in it. The lower orders are left exposed to the same ignorance in buying their bread and selling their labour, both of which are exchanged for silver.

Lord Liverpool proposes, indeed, that the guinea should be made the standard; in other words, that twenty real guineas should be denominated by authority equal to twenty-one ideal pounds sterling. And, therefore, he concludes, that if the shillings are left to find their relative value to the guinea, much more confusion will be introduced among the lower people, than if the shillings were fixed in relation to the pound sterling, and the guinea left to take its relative value to them.

It is manifestly the same thing, whether the shilling is called the twentieth part of a pound, and the guinea left to find its value in terms of the shilling, or whether the guinea is denominated the 21-20 of a pound, and the shilling left to find its price in terms of the guinea. So long as the real value of the pieces is retained, their proportions to each other, however named, cannot affect any person; and, even supposing a real difference, the labourer will both demand and receive as many good shillings of wages when the price of gold has made the guinea worth 20 shillings, as he did when that metal was a little dearer. Government should coin both guineas and shillings of the known fineness; and, to save trouble, the weight also of the pieces should be retained. A regulation respecting wear might probably be added with advantage; and it should be understood, either that the guinea is 21-20, or that the shilling is 1-20 of of a pound sterling, it is absolutely indifferent which. Government has then done all it ought to do; and the

number of shillings in a guinea must afterwards be regulated by the market. It might be an additional convenience, if the relative prices of the metals were from time to time investigated, as matter of fact, for the ascertainment of contracts made indefinitely, and for the general publication of such information.

For the Literary Magazine.

THE REFLECTOR.

NO. X.

Concluded from page 383.

HENCE it follows, if the above reasoning be just, that we dare not break those secret and indefinable bonds which unite us to our friends; they are the bonds of love, which cannot be destroyed without a shock to nature. We dare not deprive ourselves of the objects of our affections for an interested purpose, because we know, that no sooner have we committed the irrevocable deed, but our sufferings must commence, aggravated too by the reflection that the act can never be recalled, and have been laid upon us by ourselves as a consequence of our nourishing inordinate and criminal desires; desires which, now they are gratified, fail to produce that satisfaction which they seemed to possess while seen by the eye of hope penetrating the shades of futurity.

It is hard to tell whether love or grief is the cause which induces us to pay that earnest attention, that incessant care which we are accustomed to bestow on those of our connections who are in a state of suffering. This seems to be a strange observation; but, on investigation, we find it so in a less degree than we at first imagined. Suppose the reader's parent has arrived at a great age, and is afflicted with the various infirmities incident to an existence long protracted; suppose

him suddenly taken ill ; with what breathless expectation would he not hasten to endeavour to relieve him ! he would sit by him day and night, and leave no means untried to restore him to that same infirm and feeble state, in which his last illness found him. This seems to be the effect of love. Does he love his parent who endeavours to extend the limits of existence beyond the period of enjoyment, or even satisfaction ; when his only portion is pain and infirmity ; whose days of temporal felicity are departed ; who sees no prospect of a happier fate except in that unknown land of promise, whose frontier is the grave ; and who there wishes to lay down the burthen of life, and sink to rest ? In what manner is the agency of love proved here ? Could his bitterest foe do more than make him feel as long as possible the pains of infirm old age ? His prospect beyond the grave is bright beyond all description, beyond all conception ; where the weakness of age will be exchanged for the ever-during vigour of eternal youth ; where its wrinkles will vanish and be replaced by the bloom of immortality, and all the ills of life be exchanged for happiness which will never end, nor cloy in the enjoyment.

Here the reader would act unreasonably. He loves his parent, he would say ; yet he is unwilling to suffer him to attain the object of his wishes. He loves him, and would prevent his leaving an unhappy for a happy world.

Is it love, then, or the dread of grief, which would produce so much inconsistency ? Could not he argue thus ? My parent is old and miserable with the infirmities of age ; he is ill, and wishes to die ; he feels himself no longer of any use to society ; he is incapable of enjoyment, or even comfort ; he has now a prospect of exchanging this for a better life : but I love him, and am not willing to part with him. But is it the nature of love to gratify itself, and not its object ? Certainly not ; he wishes to die ; be it mine to suffer him to attain the comple-

tion of his wish, now while it may be innocently accomplished. In what manner can I better evince my affection ? If I send for a physician, his skill may enable him to live a short period longer ; but will I not be doing wrong to gratify my own feeling at the expence of his ? Certainly I shall : and therefore it is better every way to suffer him to expire.

Who would not think this reasoning the reasoning of an inhuman savage, of a man devoid of feeling, of a murderer, and a parricide ? Most of my readers would, I think ; and yet the reasoning is just, when the prejudices of habit and the feelings of humanity are laid aside. Love is supposed always to seek the felicity of the object on which it reposes ; yet here its motive is avowedly the reverse. Instead of seeking to promote the happiness of the individual, it takes pleasure in prolonging its misery, as the executioner keeps the wretch extended on the wheel, and delays the blow which will relieve him from sensibility to torture.

If it is acknowledged that love invariably seeks to *promote*, and not to *marr* the happiness of its object, then it cannot be love that induces us to prolong, when we can, the existence of an infirm parent who wishes to die. No : it must be something else ; perhaps self-love. *This sentiment* makes us endeavour to promote our own felicity. But how is the object affected by witnessing the infirmity and extending the existence of a slowly expiring parent ! It is true, self-love would induce us to prefer the protraction of his existence, if the grief, which might be expected to follow his death, was believed to be the most painful emotion. But this operates for and not against the position I have taken ; for, admitting the justice of the opinion, it would prove the dread of grief the most powerful emotion.

It is, perhaps, in vain to attempt to trace any action up to the causes which produced it. Some of them may generally be developed, but not all. There is frequently a set of undefin-

able emotions acting on the mind of man, which prompt him to perform the part he plays on the great stage of life, which he himself cannot define with clearness and precision; frequently an unreasonable expectation of some benefit, or an absurd dread of an impending evil rests on his mind, which impels him to do or not to do something which has occupied his intention, and been the subject of frequent speculations. Thus is it with the mind, in a view relative to what may not improperly be called the standing passions and emotions; so that it is not always possible to account for those inconsistencies which we find in human conduct; besides, there are situations marked by peculiarities, in which no general rule can serve as a standard by which we may determine on the propriety of our conduct. Should this be the situation of the person alluded to in A's letter, he should read my last and present paper, and be careless of my observations. But it is perhaps not so. I will then even not attempt to blame his grief. The cause might well excite it; but, notwithstanding, he owes it to himself and to society to prescribe bounds to the operation of a passion which may end in his destruction; to remember that he is placed here to perform his duty; to act with vigour against all the troubles of life; that grief indulged to an unreasonable degree becomes a weakness scarcely excusable; he should remember that when he has done his duty in opposing the unbounded extent of a passion, should he at last fall a victim to its intensity, he will at least have the consolation of having not accelerated his end by his own improper conduct; finally, should no minor consideration lessen his grief and his disgust of life, let him attend to the promises of Faith; she points to that land where sorrow is not known; where he may find the object of his grief, enjoy all the blessings which heaven has promised, and which will never know an end.

VALVERDI.

*For the Literary Magazine.*THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN
PRIDE AND VANITY.

PRIDE and vanity are by many confounded together; but, though nearly allied, they are certainly capable of being clearly distinguished from each other.

The proud man is sincere, and, in the bottom of his heart, is convinced of his own superiority; though it may sometimes be difficult to guess upon what that conviction is founded. He wishes you to view him in no other light than that in which, when he places himself in your situation, he really views himself. He demands no more of you than what he thinks justice. If you appear not to respect him as he respects himself, he is more offended than mortified, and feels the same indignant resentment as if he had suffered a real injury. He does not even then, however, deign to explain the grounds of his own pretensions. He disdains to court your esteem. He affects even to despise it, and endeavours to maintain his assumed station, not so much by making you sensible of his superiority, as of your own meanness. He seems to wish, not so much to excite your esteem for *himself*, as to mortify *that* for *yourself*.

The vain man is not sincere, and, in the bottom of his heart, is very seldom convinced of that superiority which he wishes you to ascribe to him. He wishes you to view him in much more splendid colours than those in which, when he places himself in your situation, and supposes you to know all that he knows, he can really view himself. When you appear to view him, therefore, in different colours, perhaps in his proper colours, he is much more mortified than offended. The grounds of his claim to that character which he wishes you to ascribe to him, he takes every opportunity of displaying, both by the most ostentatious and unnecessary exhibition of the good qualities and accomplishments which he possesses in some degree,

and sometimes even by false pretensions to those which he either possesses in no degree, or in so very slender a degree that he may well enough be said to possess them in no degree. Far from despising your esteem, he courts it with the most anxious assiduity. Far from wishing to mortify your self-estimation, he is happy to cherish it, in hopes that in return you will cherish his own. He flatters in order to be flattered. He studies to please, and endeavours to bribe you into a good opinion of him by politeness and complaisance, and sometimes even by real and essential good offices, though often displayed, perhaps, with unnecessary ostentation.

The vain man sees the respect which is paid to rank and fortune, and wishes to usurp this respect, as well as that for talents and virtues. His dress, his equipage, his way of living, accordingly, all announce a higher rank and a greater fortune than really belong to him; and, in order to support this foolish imposition for a few years in the beginning of his life, he often reduces himself to poverty and distress long before the end of it. As long as he can continue his expence, however, his vanity is delighted with viewing himself, not in the light in which you would view him if you knew all that he knows; but in that in which he imagines he has, by his own address, induced you actually to view him. Of the illusions of vanity this is, perhaps, the most common. Obscure strangers who visit foreign countries, or who, from a remote province, come to visit, for a short time, the capital of their own country, most frequently attempt to practise it. The folly of the attempt, though always very great and most unworthy of a man of sense, may not be altogether so great upon such as upon most other occasions. If their stay is short, they may escape any disgraceful detection; and, after indulging their vanity for a few months, or a few years, they may return to their own

homes, and repair, by future parsimony, the waste of their profusion.

The proud man can very seldom be accused of this folly. His sense of his own dignity renders him careful to preserve his independence, and, when his fortune happens not to be large, though he wishes to be decent, he studies to be frugal and attentive in all expences. The ostentatious expence of the vain man is highly offensive to him. It outshines, perhaps, his own. It provokes his indignation as an insolent assumption of a rank which is by no means due; and he never talks of it without loading it with the harshest and severest reproaches.

The proud man does not always feel himself at his ease in the company of his equals, and still less in that of his superiors. He cannot lay down his lofty pretensions, and the countenance and conversation of such company overawe him so much that he dares not display them. He has recourse to humbler company, for which he has little respect, which he would not willingly chuse, and which is by no means agreeable to him; that of his inferiors, his flatterers, and dependants. He seldom visits his superiors, or if he does, it is rather to show that he is entitled to live in such company, than for any real satisfaction that he enjoys in it. It is, as lord Clarendon says of the earl of Arundel, that he sometimes went to court, because he could there only find a greater man than himself; but that he went very seldom, because he found there a greater man than himself.

It is quite otherwise with the vain man. He courts the company of his superiors as much as the proud man shuns it. Their splendour, he seems to think, reflects splendour upon those who are much about them. He haunts the courts of kings and the levees of ministers, and gives himself the air of being a candidate for fortune and preferment, when in reality he possesses the much more precious happiness, if he knew how to enjoy it, of not being one. He is

fond of being admitted to the tables of the great, and still more fond of magnifying to other people the familiarity with which he is honoured there. He associates himself as much as he can with fashionable people, with those who are supposed to direct the public opinion, with the witty, with the learned, with the popular; he shuns the company of his best friends whenever the very uncertain current of public favour happens to run in any respect against them. With the people to whom he wishes to recommend himself, he is not always very delicate about the means which he employs for that purpose; unnecessary ostentation, groundless pretensions, constant assentation, frequent flattery: for the most part a pleasant and a sprightly flattery, and very seldom the gross and fulsome flattery of a parasite. The proud man, on the contrary, never flatters, and is frequently scarcely civil to any body.

Notwithstanding all its groundless pretensions, however, vanity is almost always a sprightly and a gay, and very often a good-natured passion. Pride is always a grave, a sullen, and a severe one. Even the falsehoods of the vain man are all innocent falsehoods, meant to raise himself, not to lower other people. To do the proud man justice, he very seldom stoops to the baseness of falsehood. When he does, however, his falsehoods are by no means so innocent. They are all mischievous, and meant to lower other people. He is full of indignation at the unjust superiority, as he thinks it, which is given to them. He views them with malignity and envy, and, in talking of them, often endeavours, as much as he can, to extenuate and lessen whatever are the grounds upon which their superiority is supposed to be founded. Whatever tales are circulated to their disadvantage, though he seldom forges them himself, yet he often takes pleasure in believing them, is by no means unwilling to repeat them, and even sometimes with some degree of exaggeration.

The worst falsehoods of vanity are all what we call white lies; those of pride, whenever it condescends to falsehood, are all of the opposite complexion.



For the Literary Magazine.

ON PUGILISM.

HUMAN nature requires bodily and mental recreation; and the sports and amusements of mankind are diversified by the influence of moral, political, and physical causes. The means of gratification are various and complex; the end simple and uniform. To escape from unpleasant sensations, and to enjoy the pleasure which sympathy extracts from the intercourse with fellow man, gave rise to our fondness for public diversions and sportive contests. The influence of physical causes, in regulating the nature of these diversions, may be easily conceived. The amusements of the inhabitants of the temperate and frigid zones would depress and exhaust the residents of a torrid clime. Hence the delights of the Asiatic are those which are purchased with a small portion of exertion. Physical causes have less controul than those of a moral and political kind. Man is endued with a constitution which can adapt itself to every diversity of clime and change of temperature.

According to the degree of civilization, will the public sports and amusements of a people partake, more or less, of the mixed character of corporeal and mental recreation. The arts can only flourish where the condition of man has been long meliorated by the enjoyment of moral and political advantages.

In the athletic and gymnastic sports of Greece, the chief end was perfection in the military character. Their philosophers inculcated the doctrine by their precepts and example. Hence courage became associated with every idea of patri-

tism, honour, and virtue. Another popular sport among the Greeks depended on the contests of ferocious animals, whose natural antipathies were made use of, and designedly enflamed, to gratify a depraved and barbarous taste. The Greeks delighted in fighting of cocks, and the diversion of bull-fights. The former was introduced by Themistocles, as a religious festival. The latter had its rise in Thessaly, and was transported to Rome by Julius Cæsar.

The Romans carried every institution of popular sports to a height unknown to their first inventors; and the frequent spectacle of animals conflicting with each other in the amphitheatres gradually hardened the public mind, and begat a necessity for diversions of a more animated and dangerous tendency. Men were compelled to enter the lists with wild beasts; yet this was not to be compared to the cruelty of the gladiatorial exhibitions, at which persons of every age, sex, and condition, attended. Hence streams of blood flowed annually from several hundreds, or, perhaps, thousands, of the wretched gladiators, in various parts of the empire.

Some of the sports and exercises of the people of England seem to be interwoven with the customs and manners of the mass of the inhabitants. These may be divided into the sports which are derived from the animal creation, and the amusements which depend on bodily exercises and personal contests. With regard to the former, though, perhaps, none of them can be completely justified, yet they are not all entitled to equal condemnation. That class of diversions pursued for the benefit of health and exercise, such as *hunting*, where the enjoyment of pleasure springs from the exertion of the active faculties, are not to be compared with those cruel and depraved sports which merely consist in the torture and destruction of the animal, as *cock-fighting* and *bull-beating*.

Amusements of this kind were in-

troduced into Britain by the Romans, when they conquered the island, and in early times they were generally practised. In the reign of Henry II, the jugglers made a trade of training bulls, bears, and even horses, for the purpose of baiting them with dogs. Cock-fighting was introduced in the same reign, and during the subsequent periods it became general, and was countenanced by royal favour under the Stuarts.

If it be desirable to efface the harsh lineaments of rudeness, and a want of feeling nearly allied to brutality, then all barbarous diversions should be entirely abolished; especially, the sport of bull-baiting should be the first offering at the shrine of humanity and justice: a diversity which has been characterized as inhuman, cruel, disgraceful, and beastly, and which can excite nothing but brutality, ferociousness, and cowardice; for its direct tendency is to debase the mind, deaden the feelings, and extinguish every spark of benevolence.

Pugilism on a public stage is most probably a relic of a species of the gymnastics: it is a prostitution of a manly and useful art, whether considered as an exercise calculated to inspire fortitude and intrepidity, or to afford means of defence against personal insult and violence. But when considered in the light of a public spectacle, or of furnishing an opportunity for gambling speculations, it is then viewed in all its naked deformity.

It may be asked, whether the art of boxing, by which instantaneous insult may be avenged, or personal injury averted, is more dangerous than any other practice adopted on similar occasions, and for similar purposes? The imperfection of our nature compels us to acquire the art of self-defence, as well as that of annoyance to others. From experience we learn the impossibility of extinguishing the passions of pride and resentment, which, though they frequently involve a man in misery, are still the sources of some of his

noblest qualities and attributes. As some portion of evil attaches itself to the best and wisest system of moral and civil restraint, that policy is the best which legislates for man as he is, and not altogether as he ought to be. Stifle the active energies of a resolute mind, and you degrade the man into a positive slave. The feeling of resentment is a salutary, if not instinctive provision of our common nature. Hence it becomes a question of expediency as to the best mode by which a man may be enabled to vindicate his own real or supposed wrongs. Some conceive that boxing is the most eligible means of offence and defence. It may be ranked among those athletic exercises which impart address and strength to the body, and inspire courage and fortitude in the mind. The government that would attempt, with a despotic and severe authority, to controul the exertions of self confidence, and a moderate exercise of just resentment, could only expect to rule over a nation of slaves. The open and ingenuous expression of manly indignation might be repressed; but the rancorous feelings of malignant revenge would be fostered and encouraged. But no state can, with any prospect of success, attempt such absolute dominion over the passions of men.

In countries, where boxing is unknown, the modes of resenting injuries, resorted to by the common people, are full of danger and ferocity. In Italy, the stiletto is not only the weapon of the hired assassin, but is also kept ready in the bosom of the respectable citizen, to be plunged into the heart of his friend or neighbour upon any sudden provocation from anger, or motive of revenge. A thousand persons are said to fall victims annually in Rome to the stiletto, and not less than 400 murders are committed in the same time in Naples by the dagger. In Holland, the mode of fighting among the common people is by sharp knives, and the parties frequently maim, and sometimes destroy each

other. The government tolerates the savage practice. In Virginia, and the other southern states, the most savage acts of barbarity are said to be committed in the quarrels of the people. Gougeing, or thrusting out the eye from the socket, is one of the means resorted to on almost every personal dispute. Travellers say it is not uncommon to meet with persons deprived of one or both eyes from this horrid practice. When the passions are under greater restraint, from the influence of laws, of climate, and of custom, such dreadful consequences do not ensue from the quarrels of the populace. Yet in France, and many parts of Germany, the quarrels of the people are determined by a brutal appeal to force. Sticks, stones, and every dangerous kind of weapon, are resorted to for the gratification of passion or revenge.

The most common and savage method of settling quarrels on the continent of Europe is the *pancratium*. The parties close, and struggle to throw each other down, at the same time the teeth and nails are not unemployed; they tear each other like wild beasts, and never desist but through an inability of inflicting more mischief. From the consideration of these facts, boxing, as practised in England, seems to claim some apology. In those parts of that kingdom where pugilism is least practised, and where personal disputes are decided by the exertion of savage strength and ferocity, a fondness for barbarous and bloody sports prevail. In some parts of Lancashire *bull-baiting* and *man-slaying* are common practices. The knowledge of pugilism as an art is, in these places, neither understood nor practised. There is no established rule of honour to save the weak from the strong, but every man's life is at the mercy of his successful antagonist. The object of each combatant in these disgraceful contests is, to throw each other prostrate on the ground, and then with hands and feet, teeth and

nails, to inflict at random every possible degree of injury and torment. The county assizes at Lancashire afford many proofs of the mischiefs of these savage combats: the judges have attempted to suppress them, but without effect. On this account, some would have boxing encouraged, as a more manly and less dangerous mode of terminating the quarrels of the populace. They suggest that in public schools some pains might be taken to introduce the system of boxing, and the laws of honour, by which it is regulated; it would render, they think, the life of man more respected, and barbarous propensities would be subdued.

But this seems to be carrying the matter a little too far. Though no one can rationally hesitate on the preference due to boxing above the use of the dagger, the teeth, or the nails, and the more polite, but far more ridiculous barbarity of duelling, boxing is still only one of the least criminal and fatal modes of revenge and of violence, and the force of laws, as well as the persuasion, example, and influence of all the good should be vigorously exerted to outroot every kind of violence, all contests of brute force and lawless passions, among the members of human society.

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For the Literary Magazine.

WONDERS OF BRITISH INDUSTRY.

ENGLAND, where manufactures are so famous, exhibits, of course, the effects of this mode of industry on the appearance of the country, the rank of individuals, their numbers, and their property, in more striking lights than any other country. A striking example to this purpose is furnished by a late traveller in Wales, in the following account of iron works at Merthyr Tydvil.

About the year 1783, Mr. Bacon granted leases, for thirty years, of

land which he held for ninety-nine years, at 200l. a year, in the following parcels: Cyfartha Works, the largest portion, to Mr. Crawshay, for five thousand pounds per annum; Penderyn to Mr. Homfray, at two thousand pounds per annum; Dowlas Iron Works to Messrs. Lewis and Tate, and a fourth part to Mr. Hill, for three thousand pounds.—The heirs of Mr. Bacon have from all those works a clear annual income of ten thousand pounds.

Mr. Crawshay's iron works of Cyfarthfa are now by far the largest in Great Britain; probably, indeed, the largest in Europe; and in that case, as far as we know, the largest in the world. He employs, constantly, upwards of two thousand men; and pays, weekly, in wages and other expences of the works, 25,000l. or 1,300,000l. a year. He makes, upon an average, between sixty and seventy tons of iron every week; and has lately erected two new additional furnaces, which will soon begin to work, when he will be able to make, one week with the other, one hundred tons of bar iron, or five thousand two hundred tons a year. Mr. Homfray makes, weekly, on a moderate average, fifty tons of bar iron and upwards, and is now extending Penderyn and its buildings, which will soon be completed. He will then at least make eighty tons per week.

Dowlas Iron Works, belonging to Messrs. Lewis and Tate, are on as large a scale as those of Penderyn, and about to be augmented in an equal proportion. Those of Mr. Hill make now thirty tons of iron weekly, and upwards. Additional buildings are now erecting, which, when finished, will make at least forty tons per week. At present, more than two hundred tons of iron are sent down the canal weekly to the port of Cardiff, whence it is shipped off to Bristol, London, Plymouth, Portsmouth, and other places, and a considerable quantity to America. It is supposed, that in the course of a year or two they will be able to send out three hundred tons

weekly. The number of smelting furnaces at Merthyr Tydvil is about sixteen. Six of these belong to Cyfarthfa Works; the rest to the other gentlemen who have been named. Around each of these furnaces are erected forges and rolling mills for converting pig into plate and bar iron.

This town, as it may properly be termed, is now by far the largest in the whole principality. Its population, in the year 1802, was found to be upwards of ten thousand; and it is supposed that it amounts, at this time, December, 1803, though at the interval of only one year from the date of the numeration, to considerably more than eleven thousand; and this is to be understood without including the suburb, as we may denominate it correctly enough, of Coed y Cummar, on the Brecknockshire side of the river, the population of which is at least one thousand. Swansea, heretofore the largest town in Wales, exceeding every other town by at least one thousand inhabitants, is now nearly, if not quite, doubled by Merthyr Tydvil. It is true, the external appearance of Merthyr Tydvil is not to be compared with that of Swansea.

The house of Mr. Homfray at Penderyn is large and elegant, with fine and well planted gardens, green-houses, hot-houses, and all the accommodations befitting the residence of a wealthy family: but the splendours of Merthyr Tydvil begin and end with this mansion. When the first furnaces and forges were erected, there could not exist the slightest glimmering of prescience, that this little obscure Welsh village would, in less than forty years, grow up to such a magnitude as to be far more populous than any other town in Wales. The first houses that were built were only very small and simple cottages for furnace-men, forge-men, miners, and such tradesmen as were necessary to construct the required buildings, with the common labourers who were employed to assist them. These cottages

were most of them built in scattered confusion, without any order or plan. As the works increased, more cottages were wanted, and erected in the spaces between those that had been previously built, till they became so connected with each other as to form a certain description of irregular streets, very much on the plan of Crooked Lane in London. These streets are now many in number, close and confined, having no proper outlets behind the houses. They are consequently very filthy for the most part, and doubtless very unhealthy. Some streets, it is to be observed, have within these few years been built, and more are building, on a better plan; in straighter lines, and wider, having decent houses, with commodious outlets, and other necessary attentions to cleanliness and health. In some of the early and rudely-connected streets, we frequently see the small, miserable houses taken down, and larger and very seemly ones built in their stead. Such improvements are increasing with some degree of rapidity. Shop-keepers, inn-keepers, forgers, some of them at least, and no inconsiderable numbers, are making comfortable fortunes, and consequently improving their dwellings.

Mr. Crawshay, however, is more conspicuously qualified to set them an example of industry than elegance. His house is surrounded with fire, smoke, and ashes. The noise of hammers, rolling mills, forges, and bellows incessantly din and crash upon the ear. Bars and pigs of iron are continually thrown to the hugely accumulating heaps that threaten to choke up every avenue of access. It is more humourously than truly said in the neighbourhood, that such scenery is most congenial to the taste, such sounds most lulling to the repose of the owner. The fact, however, is, that the situation of the master's dwelling was fixed long before Mr. Crawshay came to it: and when it is considered how conveniently it lies for the superintendence of the busi-

ness, few men, brought up in the habits of commercial prudence, would consult agreeable prospects and domestic elegance, at the expence of that best security, the everlasting eye of a principal. The machinery of this establishment is gigantic; and that part of it worked by water among the most scientifically curious and mechanically powerful to which modern improvement has given birth.

For the Literary Magazine.

PRESENT STATE OF THE BRITISH FUNDS.

THE amount of the public funded debt of Great Britain, on the 5th January, 1805, according to the accounts presented to the house of commons, was £.603,925,792
Stock created by loan

of 1805 £. 38,700,000

£.642,625,792

Transferred for redemption of the land tax

£. 22,000,000

£.620,625,792

Redeemed by commissioners of the sinking fund

£.113,500,000

Leaving on the 31st of January, 1806

£.507,125,792

Of this debt of 507 millions, near 100 millions consist of four and five per cent. stock, which being converted into three per cents., makes the total amount in three per cent. stock 557 millions; and valuing the three per cent. stock at sixty per cent., the present average price, the total capital of the debt in money is 334 millions sterling*.

The original provision of the sinking fund of a million per annum, with the additions since made to it, and the dividends on stock bought up by the commissioners who manage that fund for the nation, amount to about 8,000,000 per annum.

Thus the evidence of facts, and twenty years' experience, prove that the plan of Dr. Price is alone adequate to counteract the late system of lavish and prodigal expenditure. A single million per annum, laid by since 1786 for accumulation, has multiplied itself, on principles of compound interest, to eight millions per annum; and has created a capital in the hands of the commissioners of upwards of one hundred and thirteen millions.

The nation began about twenty years since to buy up its own debts. The fund appropriated for this purpose was to be one million per annum, laid out in the purchase of such portions of stock as might be brought to market by the public. The commissioners have since applied the interest of the stock thus

* In the last year, 1805, 7,615,167l. 7s. 9d. were expended by the commissioners; and 1,906,104l. 17s. 13-4d. in the quarter between the first of February and the first of May, 1806. It appears that the following stock has been purchased between the 3d of February, 1805, and 31st of January last:

Capital Stock.		Cash paid.
6,093,000	Consolidated 3 per cent. Annuities	3,570,573 5 6
6,468,492	Red. Ann. Consol.	3,804,486 18 3
161,400	Old South Sea Ann.	96,562 15 0
133,000	New South Sea Ann.	77,374 7 6
23,000	3 per cent. Ann. 1751	12,816 5 0
92,021	Imp. 3 per cent. Ann.	53,403 16 6
<hr/> 12,972,913		

The interest of this 12,972,913l. of stock is 389,187l. 7s. 9d., which, added to the amount of last year, gives nearly eight millions to be applied in the present year.

purchased to the increase of their funds; and hence one hundred and thirteen millions, with its interest, have thus been redeemed to the nation from its public creditors. The interest of this amount of redeemed stock, and the annuity of one million regularly appropriated to this purpose, give to the commissioners an income, for the year 1806, of eight millions.

The temporary advantages of this plan are of scarcely less consequence than its ultimate benefits. The large sums which the commissioners have every week at their disposal, make it easy for persons desirous of selling stock to find purchasers. Hence there are at this time generally more buyers than sellers; and the state of national credit is such, that instead of its being necessary to extinguish the debt, and ruin all the creditors of the nation at a blow, it will rather be necessary in a few years to compel the national creditors to receive their money.

I have calculated the future accumulations of the present revenue of the commissioners, at the same rate of increase which has hitherto attended the sinking fund. That rate has hitherto been five per cent.

The present annual income of the commissioners for managing the sinking fund, consisting of eight millions, will generate, by the year

1810, the sum of	£.34,480,000
1820, —————	156,700,000
1830, —————	556,000,000
1840, —————	680,500,000
1850, —————	1209,000,000
1860, —————	2070,000,000
1870, —————	3472,700,000
1880, —————	5757,000,000

sums which outstrip any accumulation of new debt that the most desponding politician can anticipate.

There was no occasion for carrying the calculation beyond the year 1830, by which year, if the sinking fund continues to be invariably applied, the present debt will be extinguished, and the load of taxes taken off, which till then will be necessary to pay the annual interest.

In the mean time what becomes of the new debts? The war expenditure will require new loans, and a new debt will probably be formed equal to the present. How is this to be disposed of? What are the funds by which it is to be discharged?

I shall answer these queries by explaining the provision for future debts, which was also pointed out by Dr. Price, and which has been adopted by the legislature.

In 1792 it was enacted, that on all future loans a sum equal to one per cent. on the stock created by such loans should be added to the sinking fund as a provision for their gradual redemption. This appropriation of one per cent. on every loan at the increase of 5 per cent., amounts to 100 in 37 years, or at 4 per cent. interest in less than 42 years. Therefore, whatever addition is made to the debt every year, if such a fund of one per cent. be regularly allotted for its redemption, the total of that portion of debt must in 37 or 42 years be discharged.

This provision for discharging all future loans may be sufficiently intelligible; but that it may be understood by every reader, I shall illustrate it by an example.

If war should make it necessary to borrow a sum of fifty millions to meet the expenditure of 1806, a further sum of one per cent. on the amount, or half a million, would also be borrowed and placed at the disposal of the commissioners. This half-million would by them be immediately laid out in stock, which, at compound interest, will amount in thirty-seven years, or in the year 1843, to the said fifty millions and a half, being the sum borrowed.

For the Literary Magazine.

INDIAN APRIL-FOOL-DAY.

DURING the *Huli*, says a resident in India, when mirth and festivity reign among Hindus of every class, one subject of diversion is to

send people on errands and expeditions, that are to end in disappointment, and raise a laugh at the expense of the person sent. The Huli is always in March, and the last day is the greatest holiday: all the Hindus, who are on that day at Jagannath, are entitled to certain distinctions, which they hold to be of such importance, that I found it expedient to stay there till the end of the festival; and I am of opinion, and so are the rest of the officers, that I saved above five hundred men by the delay. The origin of the Huli seems lost in antiquity; and I have not been able to pick up the smallest account of it.

If the rites of May-day show any affinity between the religion of England in times past, and that of the Hindus in these times, may not the custom of making April-fools, on the first of that month, indicate some traces of the Huli? I have never yet heard any account of the origin of the English custom; but it is unquestionably very ancient, and is still kept up even in great towns, though less in them than in the country: with us it is chiefly confined to the lower classes of people; but in India high and low join in it; and the late Shuja ul Daulah, I am told, was very fond of making Huli-fools, though he was a mussulman of the highest rank. They carry it here so far, as to send letters making appointments, in the name of persons, who, it is known, must be absent from their house at the time fixed on; and the laugh is always in proportion to the trouble given.

For the Literary Magazine.

INTELLIGENCE, LITERARY AND
PHILOSOPHICAL.

A WORK of uncommon labour and magnitude has been for some years in the course of publication, by several professors and literati in the university of Gottingen. It is entitled A General History of the Arts and
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Sciences, from their revival to the Conclusion of the Eighteenth Century. According to the plan, the whole work is to be divided into eleven sections. The first contains, General History of Science and Literature, by way of introduction to the succeeding sections, and was published by M. Eichhorn in two volumes. The latter part of the second volume has not yet appeared. Section II. History of the Fine Arts. Of this section the public has been presented with the history of the arts of design, by professor Fiorillo, in three parts, containing the history of painting in Italy and in France. Section III. History of the Belles Lettres, of Poetry, and of Eloquence. Professor Bouterwick has written the history of the belles lettres to the present time, in three parts. The two first contain the history of Italian literature, and the third that of Spanish literature, with a supplement on the literature of Portugal. Section IV. History of Philology. Two parts of the history of classical literature, by M. Hieren, are all that have yet appeared. It will be continued. Section V. History of Historical Sciences. This section has been retarded by the death of professor Schonemann, who had undertaken it, and by various accidents which have befallen those to whom this department was committed after his death. Section VI. History of Philosophy. This part, the production of M. Buhle, is in six volumes, the last of which goes down as far as Kant. Notwithstanding the departure of the author for Moscow, the work will be completed. Section VII. History of Mathematical Sciences. The public has already the history of military science, by M. Hoyer, finished in two parts; and the history of mathematics, by Kastner. The latter had composed four parts of his history, which comes down to the latter half of the seventeenth century, when the hand of death overtook him. In case the author had been able to continue it, he would undoubtedly have been obliged either to alter his

plan, which is too bibliographical, or to confine it within a smaller compass. His work, however, presents the richest and most useful materials for the history of that science. The attentive reader may easily discover in it the progress of the science, and perhaps would not exchange it for a history of the science, in the strict sense of the word, if it were not animated by the genius of Kastner. It is unnecessary to observe, that in the continuation of this work a better plan will be adopted. Section VIII. History of the Natural Sciences. Of these have appeared, the history of chemistry, by the late M. Gmelin, complete in three volumes; the history of natural philosophy, by professor Fischer, in five parts, of which the fifth goes down to the last quarter of the eighteenth century, to Priestley; so that it is nearly concluded. Section IX. Jurisprudence. This part has been delayed by the death of the person who was engaged upon it. Section X. Theology. The first part of the history of practical theology, by Dr. Ammon, has appeared. The history of the explanation of the Holy Scriptures, by Dr. Meyer, in three parts, is almost finished. Section XI. History of Medicine. This has been purposely reserved for the last, on account of the new discoveries. By the above sketch it appears, that out of the eleven sections eight are already completed, or are drawing more or less towards a conclusion, and that two others have been retarded only by the death of the respective writers. Of the sections which are still in hand, the public has still to expect, in the second, the history of sculpture and architecture; in the third, the history of the belles lettres of the other countries; in the fourth, the history of archæology; in the eighth, the history of natural history, with that of rural economy, and technology; and in the tenth, the history of dogmatic and moral theology. When the immense extent of the undertaking is considered, it will not excite wonder that it is not yet completed,

but rather that so much has been already performed in the comparatively short space of eight years. The most important parts that are wanting, namely, natural history, dogmatical theology, morality, and archæology, have been confided to men whose names alone sufficiently guarantee the excellence of their productions, so that no doubt can be entertained of the speedy completion of those departments.

Dr. Heirn, of Berlin, has published the following note relative to the shower of pease which is asserted to have fallen at Landshut, in Silesia. "The privy counsellor, Von Jetschke has transmitted to me a certain quantity of the grains which fell at Landshut, and in its vicinity, during a violent storm. At first sight, I took them to be seeds; but, having soaked them in water, I discovered that they were tubercles, such as are frequently seen growing at the roots of various plants. I was at a loss to decide whether they were the produce of the *orchis*, the *spiræa filipendula*, or the *ranunculus ficaria*. M. Schroder, the apothecary, soon convinced me that these tubercles belonged to the root of the *ficaria*. This plant, which Linnæus likewise calls *chelidonium minus*, delights in aquatic situations. An enormous accumulation of these roots was probably formed in a very confined cavity, whence they may have been carried by a whirlwind. In this case they must naturally have descended in a shower. Our celebrated chemist, Klaproth, has shown me the first and second volumes of the New Journal of Chemistry, published by Gehler, who there gives a very interesting account of similar showers of pease or seed. For the rest, these tubercles contain a farinaceous substance resembling that which is extracted from potatoes, turnips, and other roots. It would be both useful and profitable to cultivators to make themselves acquainted with the *ficaria*, and to avail themselves of its valuable properties."

POETRY.

For the Literary Magazine.

ON SEEING THE PORTRAIT* OF ROBERT BURNS.

Addressed to the Artist.

YES, it is he! the hapless well-known
Burns;
His look, his air, his very soul ex-
prest;
That heaven-taught bard whom weep-
ing Genius mourns,
For cold in earth his silent relics rest.

Through tears that ease the anguish of
my heart

I view this faithful image of my friend,
And vainly wish, dear Lawson, that thy
art

Could life once more to these lov'd
features lend.

Who sees not here, in this expressive
eye,

The independent soul, the ardent
mind,

The boundless fancy, Pity's generous
sigh,

The heart to all but its possessor kind.

Alas! I knew him when his country's
pride,

Yet left dark Poverty's cold winds to
brave;

And those who then the friendly hand
deny'd,

Now strew with flowers his green
unconscious grave.

The dear remember'd scenes we oft
have seen,

The burnies, haughs, and knowes of
yellow broom,

The hazel glen, the birk-surrounded linn,

The blossom'd heather, and the haw-
thorn's bloom.

The simple tales of Scotia's hardy swains,
The lovèd and sports their circling
seasons bring;

Who now will celebrate in equal strains?

What bard like Burns will ever, ever
sing?

* Prefixed to Dobson's edition of
Burns's Works.

O he was Nature's genuine warbler born;
Too early lost, from pensive Scotia
tore,

Death snatch'd him from us in life's
early dawn,

Ere half the raptures of his song was
o'er.

Thus soars the thrilling lark at dawn of
day,

Sweet to each list'ning swain her
warblings flow,

And thus the hawk sweeps down upon
his prey,

And leaves the world in solitude be-
low.

A. W.

Gray's Ferry, April 25, 1806.

For the Literary Magazine.

COLIN.

A Pastoral.

WHEN Flora, the goddess of May,
Had strew'd with her favours the
mead,

I trac'd her gay footsteps the way
Young Colin was tuning his reed.

The youth was reclin'd by a stream,
And o'er him sat moaning the dove;

As pensive as her's was his theme,
Expressive of anguish and love.

My shadow passed under his eye,

Yet he seem'd not to notice meth

His late dulcet reed was thrown by,

While he warbled a sorrowful air.

"Since Rosa has left me alone,

He said, all bewildered I stray,

And envy the flocks that I own,

For they are all happy at play.

"The eglantine rose of the heath,

When bath'd in ambrosial dew,

Excels not in fragrance her breath,

Nor wears her cheek's elegant hue.

Her eyes they are mild as the dove's,

Enchantingly tender and sweet;

She is mild and as blithe as the loves,

Yet has flown from her shepherd's re-
treat.

" No more can the woodland or vale,
The blossom or verdure delight,
Though sweet as Arabia's gale,
My heart seems to droop at the sight.
For such were the days that have flown,
Ah me! and will never return,
The heart that she knew was her own,
The once gentle Rosa could spurn.

" My friends all in unison sought
In vain to unite me to peace;
They knew not my bosom was fraught
With sorrows that never would cease.
They bade me bid sighing adieu,
To hear it they could not endure;
They knew not my Rosa, tis true,
Or ne'er would they chide me, I'm sure.

" They fancied me caught in a snare
The arts of a syren can weave,
They knew not the beauteous fair,
Though cruel, would scorn to deceive.
Though on me, perhaps, she has smil'd,
'Twas the smile of a friend and no
more,
Her voice was as Mây zephyrs mild,
I heard it, and could but adore.

" The gay may entangle awhile
The heart that's unwary, I own;
There is something that charms in a
smile,
Though we know it to levity prone:
O'er hearts that are temper'd like mine
The tear has more power, I confess,
The tear energetic, divine,
Which flows at the sight of distress.

" That heart-fast'ning pearl I have seen,
And almost have worshipp'd it where
No trace of ill-nature had been
On the soft blushing cheek of my fair.
And sometimes, indeed, I have thought,
Though fancy may lead me astray,
With tears her dear eyes have been
fraught,
To see my frame wasting away.

" So true and so ardent a flame
Could not have been hid from her
eyes,
Though never, nor am I to blame,
Have I told her my love but by sighs.
Those sighs she has oftentimes heard,
And she seem'd to partake of my pain,
So tender she ever appear'd,
I thought she had loved me again.

" Young Colin, the shepherd, she said,
Will watch by my lambkins with care.

Ah, why was my name by the maid
Pronounc'd with so tender an air?
Though chilling, she said, be the snow,
Though boisterous the storm may descend,
Their shepherd will guard them, I know,
The brave will the helpless defend.

" Observe, and we ever shall find
Love binds, by such trifles as these,
The tender and delicate mind,
And holds it a captive at ease.
There dwelt in the mind of this youth
A passion akin to the skies;
For tenderness, virtue, and truth
All spoke in his eloquent eyes.

" Would she term me her shepherd
again,
He said, and he brush'd off a tear.
But why not this fondness restrain?
I have nothing to hope for or fear.
For all that can torture the mind
I am sure I have witness'd to-day,
Since Rosa no longer is kind,
Her sheep, too, are driven away.

" O, had she a lambkin but left,
Methinks t'would have soften'd my
woe;
It should in my bosom have slept,
Its fleece should have rival'd the snow.
My sheep, come return to your home,
Your loss, my dear flock, I deplore,
I'm hast'ning, I feel, to the tomb,
Your shepherd will soon be no more."

Then he rose, though the day was yet
warm,
And left me his shady retreat,
But ne'er was so gentle a form,
Or never an aspect more sweet.
As musing he pass'd through the grove,
Forgetting his sheep were astray,
His reed was again tun'd to love,
And echo the notes bore away.

Again they were lull'd by despair,
And he tore, in a phrenzy of woe,
The ringlets of beautiful hair
That cover'd a forehead of snow,
When Rosa step'd forth from the shade,
Nor tears could she longer restrain:
" Forgive me, my Colin, she said,
Forgive me for causing thee pain.

" Yet couldst thou, O say, not divine,
And spar'd me this blush and this tear,
That none to this bosom of mine,
That none to my heart was so dear?

Yet had you, dear Colin, but known
How painful to me it would prove,
You ne'er would compell'd me to own
You were dear, by so doubting my
love.

"I gave you my lambkins to keep,
And what did the deed not impart?
Be tender, I said, to my sheep,
For they are all tied to my heart.
I fancied this plainly to say,
Take them, and my heart follows
too;
'Twas the language I meant to convey,
And convincement, I thought, would
ensue.

"But now drive your sheep to the
fold,
Or lead them, dear Colin, the way,
Ere Phœbus's chariot of gold
Whirls from us the light of the day.
Together we'll stray in the morn,
And breathe the white clover's perfume,
A wreath shall thy temples adorn,
Of the wild-apple blossom in bloom."

But vacancy now veil'd his eye,
Such rapture her words did impart,
Too great to admit of reply
Was the feeling that throb'd at his
heart.

When prostrate before her he fell;
Emotion had conquer'd and flown,
Life seem'd to have bidden farewell,
His temples were cold as a stone.

But soon he recover'd and shed
A tear of delicious delight,
And the maid so beloved was led
Away from the grove and my sight.
Now happy she's ever reclin'd
On his arm, as delighted they stray,
Their eyes beam contentment of mind,
And virtue as pure as the day.

The infant he holds to his heart,
The prattlers that gaze on his face,
All waiting in turn for their part
Of his tender parental embrace,
Adds much to the charm of the scene,
And gives a most exquisite glow
To the heart that so favour'd has been
As to share others' raptures and woe.

SARINA.

For the Literary Magazine.

MUTUAL LOVE.

WHEN on thy bosom I recline,
Enraptur'd still to call thee mine,
To call thee mine for life,
I glory in the sacred ties,
Which modern wits and fools despise,
Of husband and of wife.

One mutual flame inspires our bliss:
The tender look, the melting kiss
Ev'n years have not destroy'd;
Some sweet sensation ever new
Springs up, and proves the maxim true,
That Love can ne'er be cloy'd.

Have I a wish? 'tis all for thee;
Hast thou a wish? 'tis all for me:
So soft our moments move,
That angels look with ardent gaze,
Well pleas'd to see our happy days,
And bid us live—and love.

If cares arise (and cares will come),
Thy bosom is my softest home,
I lull me there to rest;
And is there aught disturbs my fair
I bid her sigh out all her care,
And lose it on my breast.

For the Literary Magazine.

TO A FOUNTAIN.

SEQUESTER'D fountain! ever pure,
Whose placid streamlet flows,
In silent lapse, through glens obscure,
Where timid flocks repose:
Tired and disabled in the race,
I quit ambition's fruitless chase,
To shape my course by thine;
And, pleas'd, from serious trifles turn,
As thus, around thy little urn,
A votive wreath I twine.

Fair fountain! on thy margin green
May tufted trees arise,
And spreading boughs thy bosom screen
From summer's fervent skies;
Here may the spring her flow'rets strew,
And morning shed her pearly dew,

May health infuse her balm;
And some soft virtue in thee flow,
To mitigate the pangs of woe,
And bid the heart be calm.

O! may thy salutary streams,
Like those of Lethe's spring,
That bathe the silent land of dreams,
Some drops oblivious bring;
With that blest opiate in my bowl,
Far shall I from my wounded soul
The thorns of spleen remove;
Forget how there at first they grew,
And, once again, with man renew
The cordial ties of love.

For what avails the wretch to bear
Imprinted on his mind
The lessons of distrust and fear,
Injurious to mankind?
Hopeless, in his disastrous hour,
He sees the gath'ring tempest lower,
The bursting cloud impend;
Tow'rd the wild waste he turns his eye,
Nor can that happy port descry,
The bosom of a friend.

Ah me! to Youth's ingenuous eye,
What charms the prospect wears!
Bright as the portals of the sky
The op'ning world appears;
There every figure stands confest,
In all the sweet advantage drest
Of Candour's radiant robe;
There no mean cares admission find,
Love is the business of mankind,
And Honour rules the globe.

But if those gleams fallacious prove
That paint the world so fair;
If Heaven has plac'd for gen'rous love
No soft asylum there;
If men fair faith, fair fame deride,
Bent on the crooked paths that guide
To Int'rest's sordid shrine;
Be yours, ye gloomy sons of Woe!
That melancholy truth to know,
The dream of bliss be mine.

For the Literary Magazine.

REFLECTIONS BY A FATHER.

THOUGH sweet the breath of vernal
hours,
When garlands hang on ev'ry thorn,

When ev'ry path is strew'd with flow'rs,
And opening rose-buds greet the
morn,

Who knows what blasts may yet arise!
However sweet, however gay,
The blossom may our hopes betray;
It is th' autumnal fruit we prize.

Alas! the same precarious fate
Attends on childhood's pleasing show:
The parent views, with hopes elate,
His favourites round the table grow,
Who, lost to worth, in riper years,
To duty lost, may yet conspire
To wring thy heart, unhappy sire!
And drench thy furrow'd cheek in tears.

While the poor child of homelier mein;
Who in the corner sits forlorn,
Sobs hourly at parental spleen,
And eats the bitter bread of scorn,
Untainted by the pamper'd crew,
And faithful to Affection's call,
Perhaps, in his paternal hall,
Shall trim the lamp of joy anew.

For the Literary Magazine.

TO AN OAK,

Blown down by the wind.

THOU who, unmov'd, hast heard the
whirlwind chide
Full many a winter round thy craggy
bed;
And, like an earth-born giant, hast
outspread
Thy hundred arms, and heav'n's own
bolts defied,
Now liest along thy native mountain's
side
Uptorn;—yet deem not that I come
to shed
The idle drops of pity o'er thy head,
Or basely to insult thy blasted pride:—
No; still 'tis thine, though fall'n, im-
perial oak!
To teach this lesson to the wise and
brave,
That 'tis much better, overthrown and
broke
In freedom's cause, to sink into the
grave,
Than, in submission to a tyrant's yoke,
Like the vile reed, to bow and be a slave.

END OF VOLUME V.

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